

BUILDING A NEW WORLD

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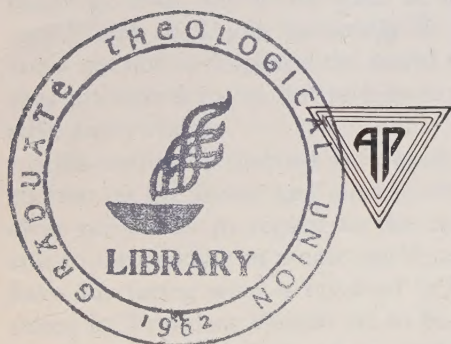
HARRISON S. ELLIOTT

BUILDING A NEW WORLD

An Outline for the Discussion of
the Christian Issues Involved in the
Winning of the War and in the Es-
tablishment of World Democracy.

HARRISON S. ELLIOTT

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FOREWORD

"This will be a different world after the war." How often have we heard this said! Because the winning of the war is essential, if a new world is to be built, nations are giving themselves to it with the spirit of the Crusaders.

President Wilson, in his remarkable messages, has been the spokesman not only for the United States but for the people of all nations who are hoping and working for a new world; but President Wilson in his world leadership has been the champion of free government and the equal opportunity of democracy, not alone for Europe, not alone for the stronger nations, not alone for the favored races—but for the world. It is essential that every true American, that every champion of democratic institutions, shall think through carefully the meaning of President Wilson's challenge that "the *world* shall be made safe for democracy," and shall join heroically in the great mission of America, not to dominate the world as the Prussian autocracy attempted to do, but to help in making freedom possible everywhere.

This outline is planned as a guide to thinking and discussion on the issues and aims of the war, and to lead to clear conviction in regard to the relation of winning the war to the building of a new world; and then to furnish the basis for facing what is involved if America's war aims as stated by President Wilson are to be made operative in the great continents of Asia, Africa, and South America, which in land area, in available man power, in undeveloped resources of coal, iron, lumber, and agriculture, and in possibilities of development, bulk the largest in the new world.

In each chapter are first given in the Suggestions for Thought and Discussion the topics or questions most important to be considered in personal thought and group discussion; and then Reading References from a few selected books and current literature, and Reference Quotations containing material pertinent to the topic. This reference material is in no sense furnished as answers to the questions. It simply makes available information which may be necessary as a background to the discussions and gives the viewpoint of certain present-day thinkers and leaders.

The author wishes to thank Doctor Halford E. Luccock of the Methodist Centenary Commission for making available the results of his own work; also Miss A. Haslup of the same Commission for certain research material, and Miss Annabelle Miller for her help in collecting Reading References and Reference Quotations.

FOR THE LEADER

This outline is intended as a guide for discussion, not as the outline for a lecture. There are manifestly many more questions in each chapter than can be covered in any one group hour. Any attempt to follow slavishly the questions as printed will prove disastrous. Each leader must first know *his* group, the needs, the problems, the interests, the attainment of the group members. Then, in the light of his knowledge of this group, he must decide just what, under the topic to be considered, is the outstanding need of the group, what must be accomplished in the group hour, what most should be emphasized. With this knowledge of his group and his purpose in the discussion, he will go over the questions; selecting, revising, adding—in short making out his own briefer set of questions to be used in the group hour.

Topics covering historical and geographical data or significant utterances of present-day leaders should be assigned

in advance. This can best be done by giving to each of several members of the group a topic for report. In such assignments be definite. Give the group member both the topic and references. Help on this will be found in the Reading References and Reference Quotations.

References are given so far as possible to a standard Encyclopedia, to the documents of the Committee on Public Information, and to current magazines. It is strongly urged that in addition the reference books enumerated on pages 140 and 141 be made available for the groups in each center.

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER	PAGE
FOREWORD	iii
I. WINNING THE WAR AND A NEW WORLD.....	I
II. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICA'S ENTRANCE INTO THE WAR	10
III. AMERICAN WAR AIMS AND CHRISTIAN IDEALS...	17
IV. FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD.....	35
V. STRATEGIC PLACES IN THE NEW WORLD	46
VI. DEMOCRACY IN THE MAKING IN THE FAR EAST	58
VII. THE MOHAMMEDAN ADVANCE	71
VIII. LAND, LABOR, AND RELIGION IN THE NEW AFRICA	79
IX. THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM IN RUSSIA.....	91
X. HINDRANCES TO THE NEW WORLD IN THE FAR PLACES	100
XI. INFLUENCES IN THE FAR PLACES MAKING FOR DEMOCRACY	106
XII. FORCES HELPING INTERNATIONALISM.....	124
XIII. AMERICA'S OPPORTUNITY AND RESPONSE.....	132
REFERENCE BOOKS.....	139

CHAPTER I

Winning the War and a New World

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHY MUST WE WIN THE WAR?

II. WHAT IS THE REAL ISSUE OF THE WAR?

1. *To what extent is it to punish German atrocities? To stop Germany's use of the U Boat? To prevent German expansion? To what degree are these the fundamental issues, and to what degree simply symptoms of the general situation?*

2. *For what does Germany stand in the modern world?*

a. What are the basic ideas of her greatest teachers of nationality: Treitschke, Nietzsche, and von Bernhardi? Just what is the place of force and might in German thought?

b. In German thought what is the relation of the individual to the state, and the state to the individual? What is the German doctrine of the super-state?

c. On what ground does Germany attempt to justify her atrocities, U-boat raids, and breaking of treaties?

d. What place do Germans feel their country must occupy in the world? What is meant by "*Deutschland über alles?*" What light does Germany's action in the Treaty of Brest-Litovsk throw on her world aims?

e. What is the form of Germany's government? How much freedom has the individual?

f. What relation has German religion to German

ambitions and practices? What is meant by the German war god? Super-man? Super-state?

g. Fundamentally, what emphasis in religion, government, and international affairs has Germany represented in the modern world?

3. *For what do the Allies stand in the modern world?*

a. How far have the Allies in their practice before the war been guided by the German idea of the super-state and the place of might and force? How much influence has this philosophy had in America?

b. What evidences are there in the modern history of Great Britain that she stands for democracy? France? United States? How far can the Allies be said to be true representatives of democracy?

c. How strong in the Allied countries are the groups who wish to see the war settled on the basis of imperialism?

d. How far can President Wilson's slogan, "Make the world safe for democracy," be considered really the Allies' war aim?

4. *To what extent can it be said that the Allies represent democracy and the Central Powers autocracy and empire in the modern world?*

5. *Just why is it essential to defeat Germany as the first step toward a Christian world?*

6. *To what extent can the war be said to be the use of international police power to stop the ravages of outlaws in the world life?*

III. WHAT IS THE HOPE FOR A NEW WORLD?

1. *Who are hoping and working for a new world?*

2. *Why is there so much talk about a new world after this war? How does the hope of the nations today differ from the hopes during other wars?*

3. *Some say we must commence the preparation for the*

next great war as soon as this one has been terminated, and no hope is before us save repeated conflicts between nations. Others express a conviction that if the common people of the different nations felt there was no hope as the result of all the sacrifice and bloodshed and no outlook save continuous armed conflict and perennial catastrophes, they would lay down their arms tomorrow. What do you think about it? Why do the common people support the war? What hope is there for tomorrow?

4. Some say this war is an evidence of the failure of Christianity and of the Christian Church; others that the quickened conscience in the world as indicated in the attempts of every nation, through public documents and in other ways, to justify its participation in the war is an evidence of quickened conscience and of the success of Christianity. War heretofore has been taken for granted. Still others claim that the war has come because Christianity has never been tried. Just how and to what extent is the Christian religion a factor in the causes of the war? In the war itself? How far will Christianity influence the peace settlements?

5. Important questions facing Christians are these:

a. Why must every Christian help win the war?

b. Can the war be settled on the basis of Jesus' principles?

READING REFERENCES

For quotations from German writings showing the basis of the teaching in Germany on the place of force, the supremacy of the state, the justification for frightfulness, and the relation of religion to the state, see:

"Conquest and Kultur—the Aims of the Germans in Their Own Words." Issued by the Committee on Public Information. Free on request.

J. P. Bang, "Hurrah and Hallelujah."

William Archer, "Gems of German Thought,"

Thayer, "Out of Their Own Mouths."

Three major modern prophets of Prussianism should be read, if time for further study is available:

Treitschke, historian; born 1836, died 1896. For a generation he preached in the German universities the doctrine of Germany's mission, and that the state is essentially power.

Nietzsche, philosopher; born 1844, went insane 1888, died 1900. For some twenty years following the seventies he preached in German schools the doctrine of frightfulness. This is the first war Germany has waged since Nietzsche's teaching.

Von Bernhardi, general; for many years was general of the German Military Staff; now one of the generals on the Western front; consistent exponent of German military power and of the fundamental principle that "Might Makes Right."—Summary quoted from lecture by Professor H. H. Horne.

For the record of the Prussian philosophy in action see:

(1) "German War Practices," and (2) "German Treatment of Conquered Territory," issued by the Committee on Public Information. Free on request.

For an understanding of the German form of government, Charles D. Hazen, "The Government of Germany." Issued by the Committee on Public Information. Free on request.

For a historical understanding of the issues back of the war, Charles Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War," especially Chapters IV-V, German World Policy; Chapter VI, British Foreign Policy; Chapter VII, Diplomatic Revolution; Chapter VIII, Conflict of Alliances.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

The Supreme Issue

... "We must fight it out." In those five words the answer lies. Whatever the original causes and circumstances of the war, it seems apparent that the situation has now come to this—we are in one of those periods of human development when two great ideas have reached an issue which admits of the continuance of but one. Behind all questions of economic progress and necessity, world dominion or balance of power, the rights of small states, freedom of the seas, stands the stark antagonism of militarism and the security of non-military states. Between them no compromise is possible; one must fail. Either the

Germanic powers will be overthrown or the world must enter upon that competition in armaments whose neglect cost the Allies the first year of the war, and was like to cost them, if not their existence, at least the terms on which that existence might be maintained. . . . We face the necessity of determining, once for all, the standards of civilization which we are to endeavor to maintain for the future. This is no so-called academic question. It is an issue far surpassing in importance all problems of international supremacy and forms of government; and, in particular, it is the one fundamental question of the conflict in whose solution the United States has a deciding voice.”—Wilber C. Abbot, “The War and American Democracy,” *The Yale Review*, Vol. 5, pp. 486, 487, 489.

“In every part of the world, the sentiments expressed in the large, vague phrases of the Declaration of Independence—‘life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness’—have come suddenly to have a personal and specific meaning to millions of men, which they have long lacked. And the second thought is not unlike the first. It is a hope that from this great conflict may come some good, that, through an infinity of suffering, humanity may somehow win to a higher and nobler existence than the material prosperity which recent generations have so plentifully enjoyed, and which we have come to reckon as the chief if not the sole end of man. There is a growing determination to see that these men shall not have died in vain. Whatever vast mirage of world dominion and places in the sun may fill the minds of the lords of war, there is preeminent in the minds of those beyond that narrow circle of great ones a vision of a higher and a greater peace.”—Wilber C. Abbot, “The War and American Democracy,” *The Yale Review*, Vol. 5, pp. 484-485.

The Place of Force in German Thought

“Might is the supreme right, and the dispute as to what is right is decided by the arbitrament of war.”—Bernhardi (I, p. 23).

“But while for the individual the highest duty is self-sacrifice, for the State the first duty is self-preservation; hence the necessity of power and force for the State. ‘Its highest moral duty is to increase its power. The individual must sacrifice himself for the higher community of which he is a member; but the State is the highest conception in the wider community of men, and therefore the duty of self-annihilation does not enter into the case. The Christian duty of sacrifice for something higher does not exist for the State, since there is nothing higher than it in the world’s history; consequently it cannot sacrifice itself to something higher.’ (Treitschke, “Politik.”)

Since the State is supreme and what is right for it is determined by its interests, any self-limitation that it may have placed upon itself is purely voluntary, and may be repudiated when the State considers it best. International treaties need not be kept and international law loses its stability. In the last instance, questions can only be settled by the sword; in the performance of what it conceives to be right the State must be prepared to carry out its duty with all possible force. 'When a State sees its downfall staring it in the face, we applaud if it succumbs sword in hand. A sacrifice made to an alien nation is not only immoral, but contradicts the idea of self-preservation which is the highest ideal of a State.' And again: 'Among all political sins, the sin of feebleness is the most contemptible; it is the political sin against the Holy Ghost.' (Treitschke, "Politik.")

We are less concerned with Treitschke's philosophy than with the way in which it affected the German nation. His audience was enormous and among certain classes, not the least influential, his ideas were accepted without question. But the nuances of his philosophy disappeared, as his doctrines were absorbed by the masses, and there remained only the idea most easily caught by the popular intelligence, namely, that the be-all and end-all of a State is power, and that 'he who is not man enough to look this truth in the face should not meddle in politics.'"—Charles Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War," pp. 102, 103.

Prussian Justification for Frightfulness

"Hatred, delight in mischief, rapacity, ambition, and whatever else is called evil, belong to the marvelous economy of the conservation of the race."—Nietzsche.

"Life is essentially appropriation, injury, conquest of the strange and weak, suppression, severity, obtrusion of its own forms, incorporation at the least, and in its mildest form exploitation."—Nietzsche, "Beyond Good and Evil," section 259. (From "Conquest and Kultur," p. 29.)

"Whoever cannot prevail upon himself to approve from the bottom of his heart the sinking of the Lusitania—whoever cannot conquer his sense of the gigantic cruelty to unnumbered perfectly innocent victims . . . and give himself up to honest delight at this victorious exploit of German defensive power—him we judge to be no true German."—Pastor Baumgarten.

"Use your weapons in such a way that for a thousand years no Chinese shall dare to look upon a German askance. Be as terrible as Attila's Huns."—The Kaiser to his troops going to China, 1900.

"I shall only add the interesting information which Deissmann gives, that in answer to an inquiry at his bookseller's as to what books were mostly bought by soldiers called to the front, he was told: The New Testament, Goethe's 'Faust,' and Nietzsche's 'Zarathustra'! This shows how the Nietzschean gospel of might as the highest right, his 'revaluation of all values,' competes, in modern 'Christian' Germany, not only with Goethe's 'Faust,' but even with the New Testament."—J. P. Bang, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," p. 167.

Germany's Mission

"'Not merely Alsace and Lorraine,' wrote Heine, 'but all France, Europe, and the whole world will be ours. Yes, the whole world will be German. I have often thought of this mission, of this universal domination of Germany.'

A study of the Kaiser's speeches leaves no doubt that he was penetrated with the idea of the German mission. Witness his famous speech at the Saalburg Museum in 1900: 'I hope that it will be granted to our German Fatherland to become in the future as closely united, as powerful, and as authoritative as once the Roman world empire was, and that just as in old times they said, *Civis romanus sum*, one may in the future need only to say, *Ich bin ein deutscher Bürger*.' A few years later at Bremen he said: 'God has called us to civilize the world: we are the missionaries of human progress.'—Charles Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War," pp. 95, 96.

"It is only by relying on our good German sword that we can hope to conquer that place in the sun which rightly belongs to us, and which no one will yield to us voluntarily. . . . Till the world comes to an end, the ultimate decision must rest with the sword."—German Crown Prince, in Introduction to "Germany in Arms," 1913.

"The German race is called to bind the earth under its control, to exploit the natural resources and the physical powers of man, to use the passive races in subordinate capacity for the development of its Kultur."—Ludwig Woltmann, "Politische Anthropologie," 1903. Quoted by Andler, "Le Pangermanisme Philosophique," 1917, p. 273. (From "Conquest and Kultur," p. 17.)

"The Great Elector laid the foundations of Prussia's power by successful and deliberately incurred wars. Frederick the Great followed in the footsteps of his glorious ancestor. . . . None of the wars which he fought had been forced upon him; none of them did he postpone as long as possible. . . . The lessons of history thus confirm the view that wars which have

been deliberately provoked by far-seeing statesmen have had the happiest results."—Bernhardi, "Germany and the Next War," 1911.

The German God

"The German soul is the world's soul, that God and Germany belong to one another."

"World-history will write in letters of fire these words: The Germans conquered with their God."

"What is at stake for us in this struggle is the preservation of the highest blessings which God has bestowed upon mankind."

"My brethren! the spectacle we are witnessing is God striding through the nations. Him they have challenged, against His Majesty they have offended; therefore He fights for us!"—J. P. Bang, "Hurrah and Hallelujah," p. 79.

German Attitude on International Affairs

"These various elements in the German, and especially the Prussian, mentality, which we have briefly considered, help to explain the German attitude towards international affairs at the beginning of the twentieth century. The sense of their own superiority over other nations and of their world-civilizing mission impelled them to an ambition for world empire. The longing for expansion was gradually transferred from the economic to the broader political field. Germans were also acutely conscious of the necessity of force if they were to win their world empire, and they were largely convinced of the righteousness and beauty of the use of force. Inevitably the attitude of the nation began to assume an aggressive and at the same time a defiant character: aggressive, because with some, confidence in German strength and in the weakness of her enemies predominated; defiant, since with others, there existed the anxiety that Germany might not be allowed by the other nations to fulfil her dream."—Charles Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War," pp. 105, 106.

"No candid person will deny that the modern German has some justification for his docile acceptance of the doctrine of Power (*Macht*). The Germany which he knows has been made by force. The Prussia which has made Germany owes its national existence to the steady application of the same principle. Prussia is not a natural phenomenon, but an artificial, a manufactured product. The methods so successfully employed by her have been the methods of war. Spoliation is, according to the late Lord Salisbury, the hereditary tradition of the Hohenzollern race. The whole history of the Kingdom over

which he (Frederick the Great) ruled was a history of lawless annexation. It was formed of territories filched from other races and other powers.' A tradition of this kind cannot be ignored. It is more potent than the will of any individual ruler or any single statesman. Prussia has been made, made in defiance of nature, in the teeth of every imaginable difficulty and discouragement, by the genius of her rulers and the valor of her soldiers. The methods so successfully employed in the making of Prussia were subsequently applied by the Prussians to the making of Germany."—J. A. R. Marriott, "The Supreme Issue," *The Nineteenth Century*, April, 1917, Vol. 81, pp. 714-715.

Has Christianity Failed?

"Even a little observation of popular reactions to the great war reveals many men inwardly looking at the catastrophe in unrelieved dismay. . . . One natural consequence of such a reaction to the war is a lavish accusation of failure against the ideal agencies on which men had counted to improve the world. . . . What most we had relied upon, seeing that it has not saved us from the very evil its purpose was to cure, we now in exasperated disillusionment throw upon the scrap-heap. Christianity is a failure—how often has the charge been spoken and how much oftener has the doubt been thought."

Dr. Fosdick then suggests that if we call Christianity a failure because it has not forestalled this war; so also must we call education, commerce, social idealism, and international law.

"Does any sane man think, however, that it is possible to be content with such a sweeping charge of failure against our ideal agencies? Are they hopelessly to be thrown into the discard? A man who has fallen into a pit might as well saw off his own legs in despite because they did not prevent him from falling in. On second thought, he will do well to keep those legs; they are his only hope of ever climbing out again. His attitude toward them is sadly incomplete if he sits at the pit's bottom, blaspheming the feet that he should have walked straight with. And in the reconstructive age that shall succeed the war, mankind must keep and confidently rely upon those ideal agencies which, with two facile tongues, some folk call failures. Education, fraternalized commerce, social idealism, international law, and Christianity—these are not ready for the discard. They are humanity's great hope. This war is not so much an occasion for despair concerning them as it is a challenge to a better understanding and a finer use of them."—H. E. Fosdick, "The Challenge of the Present Crisis," pp. 2, 3, 6, 7.

CHAPTER II

The Significance of America's Entrance Into the War

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHY DID AMERICA ENTER THE WAR?

1. *How far was America really neutral before she entered the war?*

2. *How far was the sinking of the Lusitania and Germany's U-boat policy the cause of America's entering the war? If this was the reason, why did she not declare war when Germany crossed Belgium or as a protest against Germany's atrocities?*

3. *Why did America wait so long before entering the war?*

a. In discussing this question think of the following possible factors:

America's historic policy of isolation.

Her nationalistic aims.

Her possible misunderstanding of the real issues.

The clearer revelation of Germany's true purpose as the war progressed.

Possible changes in the attitude of the Allies.

The clarifying of the issues.

b. If America had entered at the beginning of the war, how far could she have maintained that it was to help make the world safe for democracy? To what extent at that time could President Wilson have assigned the reasons he finally did assign for American entrance?

4. *What do you think of the reason assigned that America could not see the Allies defeated and therefore she was bound to place herself with them?*

5. *What place had self-protection and what place a new sense of obligation for other nations in America's decision?*

6. *To what extent is America's entrance in the war really an expansion of her principle of the Monroe Doctrine to cover world affairs: namely, that democracy shall have a chance, not only in the Americas, but in the world?*

II. WHAT IS THE REAL SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICA'S PART IN THE WAR?

1. *How far would armed neutrality have met the demands of national honor in defense against U-boat attacks?*

2. *Why did many Americans, when we first entered the war, say we would furnish money and defend ourselves, but would not send troops to Europe?*

3. *What interest has America in European rivalries? How does this weaken and how does it strengthen her position?*

4. *How strong is President Wilson's leadership among the Allied nations? Why?*

5. *How can America help democracy in all the nations as against autocracy and imperialism?*

6. *What chance has America to insist on righteous peace terms? Should she have made her peace terms a prerequisite of entering the war?*

III. HOW CAN WE BE SURE THAT AMERICA WILL REMAIN TRUE TO HER DEMOCRATIC IDEALS?

READING REFERENCES

"How the War Came to America," issued by Committee on Public Information. A summary of the elements in America's foreign policy previous to the great war, the neutrality of the United States in the earlier months, and the factors which

changed her attitude and led her into the war. Free on request.

Andrew C. McLaughlin, Professor of History, University of Chicago, "The Great War: From Spectator to Participant," War Information Series, August, 1917. Published by Committee on Public Information. A discussion of why America did not enter the war at first and why she entered when she did. Free on request.

Walter E. Weyl, "The End of the War." Chapter II, The Conversion of America.

Henry M. Brailsford, "A League of Nations." Chapter II, America and the League of Peace.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

Why America Entered the War

"It was the shrinking of the earth that flung us so violently against the European continent. What actually ended our neutrality long before we recognized that it had ended, was the supreme fact that the growth of industry, interlacing the nations of the world, had made a complete and real neutrality impossible. The traditional concept of neutrality had been based upon the idea of one independent and self-contained nation fighting another independent and self-contained nation while the neutrals held the ring, kept the scales even, and did 'nothing either way.' But today there are no economically independent and self-contained nations. The change in the nature of war, with the ultimate dependence of each state upon its neighbors, completely alters the character of neutrality. A nation may be technically neutral and yet trade *ad libitum* with either belligerent. It is, however, this peaceful trading which today is of enormous and even decisive influence. . . .

Here geographical position plays the controlling role. Denmark, Sweden, Holland, and Switzerland may love Germany, or hate her, but cannot in the circumstances be anything but her partial economic allies, except by a policy which would make them actual enemies. Sweden either sends Germany iron or does not; if she does, she aids Germany; if she does not, she injures her disastrously and invites reprisals. . . .

Of all neutrals America was incomparably the most important. Indeed, when the war had settled down to a test of endurance, American influence became decisive. The Allies, controlling the sea, could import munitions and food from America, and as a corollary borrow money. In other words, the United

States automatically became the economic ally of the nations opposed to Germany. The German-American farmer in Illinois freed a British agricultural laborer for the trenches; the Hungarian laborer at Wilkesbarre or Bridgeport unintentionally fought against his native country. To Germany, on the other hand, no imports, and therefore no direct economic aid could come from America. Even had our antagonism to Germany been less strong, that country would have borne the brunt of our economic alliance with her enemies. . . .

Only when it became obvious that we were already in the war and that we were forced to choose sides did we issue our declaration. We could either aid the Allies to defeat Germany or, by accepting Germany's ultimatum, withhold the assistance without which the Allies would have been defeated. . . .

We had learned much during the past two and a half years, and our early impressions of German policy derived from Liege, Louvain, and Rheims had been reenforced by the 'Lusitania' and other incidents. We began to dread the power and ulterior ambitions of a greater Germany. More or less vaguely we realized that England stood as a bulwark between us and this great continental military power, as France and Belgium stood between her and England. Our commercial expansion had more to fear from a successful Germany than from a successful Britain or France. While we discovered imperialistic ambitions on both sides, we believed that the preponderance of responsibility both for the war and for autocracy and militarism, lay with Germany, and if imperialism were to triumph, we preferred a British to a German imperialism. We felt that in taking our stand with the Allies we were contributing upon the whole to the hope of democracy and international peace, and in these we had both a sentimental and a material interest. . . .

Thus we leave our policy of isolation for a new policy of intervention in Europe. We leave behind our old Americanism to find abroad a new and broader Americanism; an Internationalism. Our most sanguine optimists believe that we are to reproduce our Supreme Court in a Supreme Court of the Nations; that we are to introduce our federal system to Europe, establish disarmaments among nations as among our States, empty European frontiers of troops as our Canadian frontier is empty. We are to do this for Europe, in return for all that Europe has done for us and in obedience to the same spirit that sends out our missionaries to Asia. We are to do it also in self-defense, for if we are to remain disarmed we must disarm Europe. We are going abroad to protect our own American democracy, as an emigrant may fare forth to new lands to earn the wherewithal to protect his own home.

Such is the vision of idealists who have accepted the new

doctrine. It is with this ideal that we join hands with our Allies seeking to destroy the hostile spirit of Prussian militarism, and to evoke the new spirit, by which the world is henceforth to be governed."—Walter E. Weyl, "The End of the War," pp. 57-59; 61; 62; 71, 72.

Moral Significance of America's Part in the War

"President Wilson's work has been to instill into an isolated and pacific democracy the ideal of international duty. The new fact in the world's history is that for the first time a Great Power with a formidable navy, a population from which vast armies might be raised, and an economic and financial strength which might alone be decisive in any future conflict, is prepared to stake its own peace, not merely to guarantee its own interest, nor to further the partisan aims of its allies, but to make an end in the world of the possibility of prosperous aggression. Whatever may be its fate as a constructive proposal, this American offer makes an epoch in the world's moral evolution. . . .

Since Washington warned his countrymen against 'entangling alliances,' and President Monroe formulated his 'Doctrine,' the principle that the United States must hold aloof from the politics of the Old World has reigned as an unquestioned dogma. . . . It was the condition on which Americans hoped to purchase the immunity of their own continent from the ambitions of European dynasties and the invasions of European armies. . . . It seemed to guarantee to North America for all time a peculiar civilization of her own, based on a security unknown to the peoples of Europe. . . .

Into this system of close partnerships and unyielding enmities the United States will enter disinterested and uncommitted. We need not ascribe to her more than the European average of political virtue, but in none of the racial, strategic, or colonial questions which are likely to divide the European Powers has she any interest or concern. Beyond the American continent her only interests are the open door to trade, the freedom of the seas, and the maintenance of peace. She has no ally, and she will have none. If, on the one hand, kinship and common ethical ideals link her closely to us, her reading of maritime right separates her politically from us, as her detestation of militarism separates her emotionally from Germany. . . .

When Germany announced her intention of resuming her unrestricted submarine campaign, two courses were open to the United States. Some measure of defense was inevitable; but she might with honor have limited her defensive operations to certain minor measures at sea. She might have armed her own ships, patrolled the sea routes, and seized the German

vessels in her ports, without making common cause with the Entente. That was the policy which some able Americans recommended. Mr. Wilson would have no half measures. He declared from the first his solidarity with the Entente, and placed the whole resources of the United States—money, food, ships, and men—at its service. This he did, not because Germany had been guilty of an incidental provocation to the United States, but because he believed that the common interests of civilization demanded the defeat of an aggressive Power. . . .

America, however, has not become an interested belligerent. It is significant that Mr. Wilson has not signed the Pact of London, which binds the other allies to make war and conclude peace in common. He is committed to assist the Powers of the Entente only in so far as they aim at 'making democracy secure.' An ally who seeks some material gain for itself is commonly obliged to assent to the pursuit of similar ends by its associates. If we want to keep Mesopotamia, we cannot object to an Italian claim to Smyrna. The Entente is an old-world alliance, bound by bargains and mutually balanced claims. To purchase the military support of some of its members, we were obliged to consent to some arrangements against our better judgment. America is immune from these necessities. For herself she seeks no material gain. She is a free and may be a critical partner. She has entered the war, but she has kept the right to act on a disinterested view for the world's good. She is no longer a neutral, but she has not become a partisan. Here lies the answer to our dilemma. A policy of trust, with America to back it, ceases to be an idealistic folly."—Henry N. Brailsford, "A League of Nations," pp. 42, 43; 40; 48; 50-52.

Steps in the Outworking of Democracy in America

First step, the Declaration of Independence:

By the Declaration of Independence, the Thirteen Colonies really placed a "no trespassing" sign for democracy on the North American continent.

Second step, the Monroe Doctrine:

By this act President Monroe put a fence around the whole North and South American hemisphere, and put up a "no trespassing" sign for democracy in the Western world.

Third step, Entrance into the World War:

The slogan—"The world must be made safe for democracy." No longer did we place a fence simply around the Thirteen Colonies or around the Western Hemisphere, but insisted on protection for democracy anywhere and everywhere.

Quoted by Rev. W. P. Merrill in lecture, Silver Bay, N. Y., August, 1918.

Effect of the War on Pan-American Friendship

North and South America have been growing closer together in interests and sympathy as well as in commercial relationships during the last two decades. "It required, however, the European War to do more possibly than any other international influence, since the declaration of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, to give a vast and immediate impetus to Pan-American solidarity of interests and Pan-American cooperation for the good of each and all of the American Republics."—John Barrett, Director-General of the Pan-American Union.

"For the first time in the history of a South American nation Brazil has openly declared that the prime reason for her taking a serious political step was to follow the leadership of the United States. In her note to the other South American Powers, announcing the breaking of relationships with Germany, she said: 'Brazil has never had, nor has it now, warlike ambitions. If it has heretofore abstained from taking sides in the European conflict, it has not been able to continue indifferent since the United States has been drawn into the War without any further motives than simply those of action in the name of international justice and order. . . . The present conditions place Brazil at the side of the United States of America at this critical moment in the history of the world.'

In the same way Panama in its recent declaration of war, says that 'Neutrality is impossible in a conflict where the vital interests of the United States are involved,' and Cuba, Bolivia, Paraguay, and other countries have given voice to similar sentiments.

The recent visit of the North American fleet under the command of Admiral Caperton to South American waters has promoted these friendly relations in a remarkable way."—Rev. S. G. Inman. Report of Visit to Latin America, 1917.

CHAPTER III

American War Aims and Christian Ideals

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHAT ARE AMERICA'S WAR AIMS AS STATED BY PRESIDENT WILSON?

1. *Equal chance for small and great nations and the opportunity for the expression of nationality.*

a. Give examples of the overriding of this principle in the past in European and American affairs. On what ground was it done? Think of Poland, the Balkan States, the Mexican War, Morocco, Egypt, Korea. On what basis did the Congress of Berlin make its settlement? When have great nations in the past respected the rights of smaller peoples?

b. What does Treitschke's teaching have to say about this? How have other nations justified their policy?

c. Why should small nations have an equal opportunity with great ones? Why should racial groups be recognized in the forming of national boundaries? What are the difficulties in the way of such a policy?

d. What does the application of this racial and national principle mean in the building of the new world?

(1) What effect will this have on the policy of spheres of influence?

(2) What will it mean for oppressed states, such as Belgium, Poland, and Armenia?

(3) What will this principle imply in the Balkan situation?

What nationalities are represented in the Balkans?

Why did the powers refuse to let the Russians attempt to settle the Balkan question on the basis of nationality at the close of Russia's war with Turkey in 1876? Why did the Congress of Berlin ignore the national and racial hopes in the Balkans?

How far were the terms of settlement in the first Balkan war in 1912 on lines of just national aspirations? Why did Germany, Austria, and Italy refuse to abide by the settlement? To what extent was Germany responsible for the origin of the second Balkan war in 1912?

How much justice is there in the national hopes and ambitions of the Balkan states? Just what significance would a just settlement of the Balkan question have in the basis of a new world?

(4) How about the hopes of the Jugo-Slav and the Czecho-Slovaks?

(5) How far is this principle applicable in Oriental and African affairs? Would you have Japan apply it to Korea? The Powers apply it in Africa?

2. *Nations held accountable for their deeds the same as individuals.*

a. What is the German philosophy as to the accountability of the state? What was the attitude of the Allies before the war? Why?

b. On what grounds has Germany justified her unlawful actions on the world's highways?

c. What are the considerations for and against na-

tions being held to the same standards of right and justice as individuals?

d. At what stage in the development of national life have the individual or the clan refused to be bound by the law of the group? What hope is there that nations can pass from this stage into one of world order?

3. *Cooperation and good will in a World-League of Nations.*

a. What have been the most serious causes of suspicion and rivalry between nations?

(1) What have been the chief ambitions of Great Britain, France, Russia, Germany, Italy? Where did these conflict with one another? How did Pan-Slavism conflict with Pan-Germanism? Why did the Allies object to Germany's plan for a Bagdad Railway route and Mittel-Europa? What conflicts have risen through an attempt to secure an outlet to the sea?

(2) Why did all of the larger countries desire colonies? What are the advantages of investment in Africa or India as compared with the home country? Just how far did the desire for trade and the need of natural resources cause international friction? Think of Morocco.

(3) What is meant by the balance of power? How far have the nations been willing to consent to the establishment of an exact balance of power? What has been the purpose of alliances and secret treaties? Just how have all of these helped and how disturbed the peace of Europe?

(4) Why has war been found necessary in the past to right wrongs or to secure legitimate national aims?

b. What are the possibilities of a League of Nations in removing international friction?

- (1) What is meant by a League of Nations?
- (2) How could such cooperation between the Powers be used to eliminate rivalries? What are the difficulties of such a plan? What are the advantages?
- (3) In what respects is a League of Nations better than treaties, alliances, or a balance of power in securing good will and peace?
- (4) What nations should be included in such a league? How about Germany?
- (5) Why is the removal of the present German government a prerequisite to an establishment of a League of Nations?
- (6) How would trade reprisals after the war affect the establishment of a League of Nations?
- (7) What effect would such a league have upon the following causes of international misunderstanding?
 - Trade rivalries.
 - Colonial expansion.
 - Access to natural resources.
 - Outlet to the sea.
 - Building of armaments.
- (8) What would be the moral power of such a league? How far would it be effective in preventing a repetition of the present world catastrophe?

II. HOW FAR ARE THE AMERICAN WAR AIMS THE AIMS OF THE WAR?

1. *How fully can these aims be said to be those of America? How strong in America is the sentiment for empire, territory, and trade expansion?*

2. *How fully can these be said to be the aims of the Allies?*

3. *What are some of the things we can do to bring added convictions in America concerning these aims?*

READING REFERENCES

"The New International Encyclopedia" or "Encyclopædia Britannica": Articles on Alliances, Balance of Power, Balkan States, etc.

"War Cyclopedia." Issued by the Committee on Public Information. Price, 25 cents. Under their respective titles this book contains useful information on most of the topics related to the war. Look up under Aim of United States, Balance of Power, Equality of Nations, Permanent Peace, Pan-Germanism, Pan-Slavism, Militarism, League of Nations, Balkans, etc.

Brailsford, "A League of Nations." Consult this book for a detailed and illuminating discussion of the problems involved in the formation of a new world, and especially the questions of a League of Nations. See especially the following chapters, the titles of which will give an idea of the range of the book:

Chapter III—On Peace and Change. Chapter IV—Problems of Nationality. Chapter V—The Roads of the East. Chapter VI—The Future of Alliances. Chapter VII—On Sea-Power. Chapter VIII—Empire, Sea-Power, and Trade. Chapter IX—The Economies of Peace. Chapter X—The Constitution of the League.

Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War."

Chapter IX—The Near Eastern Question. Chapter X—The Balkan Wars.

For discussion of Jugoslavic and Czechoslovak problems see *Current History Magazine*, *N. Y. Times*, September, 1918, especially the following articles:

The Birth of a Nation: Raising the Yugoslav Flag, p. 486.

The Czechoslovaks Recognized as a Nation, p. 489.

The Czechoslovaks of Bohemia and Moravia, p. 491.

Also "Jugoslavia: A New European State," M. S. Stanoyevich, *Century* 95: 687-92, March, 1918.

Look up other references in current magazines.

For the texts of the following addresses by President Wilson see pamphlets issued by the Committee on Public Information: "How the War Came to America," "War, Labor, and Peace," "The President's Flag Day Address."

Address of the President of the United States, delivered to the Senate of the United States, January 22, 1917.

Address of the President of the United States, delivered at a Joint Session of the Two Houses of Congress, April 2, 1917.

Address of the President of the United States, delivered at Washington, Flag Day, June 14, 1917.

Reply to the Pope's Peace Proposals, August 27, 1917.

Labor and the War—an Address before the Convention of the American Federation of Labor, held in Buffalo, N. Y., November 12, 1917.

A Just and Generous Peace—Annual Message to Congress, December 4, 1917.

Program of the World's Peace—Address to Congress, January 8, 1918.

Reply to Chancellor von Hertling and Count Czernin, February 11, 1918. (Discussing the German and Austrian replies to his proposals of January 8, and setting forth four fundamental principles of a general peace.)

The text of President Wilson's speeches can also be found in current magazines. See "The Reader's Guide."

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

Extracts from President Wilson's Statements of War Aims

"I am proposing, as it were, that the nations should with one accord adopt the doctrine of President Monroe as the doctrine of the world; that no nation should seek to extend its policy over any other nation or people, but that every people should be left free to determine its own policy, its own way of development unhindered, unthreatened, unafraid, the little with the great and powerful.

I am proposing that all nations henceforth avoid entangling alliances which would draw them into competition of power. . . .

I am proposing government by the consent of the governed; that freedom of the seas which in international conference after conference representatives of the United States have urged with

the eloquence of those who are the convinced disciples of liberty; and that moderation of armaments which makes of armies and navies a power for order merely, not an instrument of aggression or of selfish violence.”—President Wilson’s Message to the Senate, January 22, 1917.

“Our object now, as then, is to vindicate the principles of peace and justice in the life of the world as against selfish and autocratic power and to set up amongst the really free and self-governed peoples of the world such a concert of purpose and of action as will henceforth insure the observance of those principles. . . .

We are glad, now that we see the facts with no veil of false pretense about them, to fight thus for the ultimate peace of the world and for the liberation of its peoples, the German people included; for the rights of nations great and small and the privilege of men everywhere to choose their way of life and of obedience. The world must be made safe for democracy. Its peace must be planted upon the trusted foundations of political liberty.

We have no selfish ends to serve. We desire no conquest, no dominion. We seek no indemnities for ourselves, no material compensation for the sacrifices we shall freely make. We are but one of the champions of the rights of mankind. We shall be satisfied when those rights have been made as secure as the faith and the freedom of the nation can make them.—President Wilson’s Message to Congress, April 2, 1917.

“Responsible statesmen must now everywhere see, if they never saw before, that no peace can rest securely upon political or economic restrictions meant to benefit some nations and cripple or embarrass others, upon vindictive action of any sort, or any kind of revenge or deliberate injury. The American people have suffered intolerable wrongs at the hands of the Imperial German Government, but they desire no reprisal upon the German people, who have themselves suffered all things in this war, which they did not choose. They believe that peace should rest upon the rights of peoples, not the rights of governments—the rights of peoples great or small, weak or powerful—their equal right to freedom and security and self-government and to a participation upon fair terms in the economic opportunities of the world, the German people of course included if they will accept equality and not seek domination.”—Reply to the Pope’s Peace Proposals, August 27, 1917.

“The program of the world’s peace, therefore, is our program; and that program, the only possible program, as we see it, is this:

I. Open covenants of peace, openly arrived at: after which

there shall be no private international understandings of any kind; but diplomacy shall proceed always frankly and in the public view.

II. Absolute freedom of navigation upon the seas, outside territorial waters, alike in peace and in war, except as the seas may be closed in whole or in part by international action for the enforcement of international covenants.

III. The removal, so far as possible, of all economic barriers and the establishment of an equality of trade conditions among all the nations consenting to the peace and associating themselves for its maintenance.

IV. Adequate guarantees given and taken that national armaments will be reduced to the lowest point consistent with domestic safety.

V. A free, open-minded, and absolutely impartial adjustment of all colonial claims, based upon a strict observance of the principle that in determining all such questions of sovereignty the interests of the populations concerned must have equal weight with the equitable claims of the Government whose title is to be determined.

VI. The evacuation of all Russian territory, and such a settlement of all questions affecting Russia as will secure the best and freest cooperation of the other nations of the world in obtaining for her an unhampered and unembarrassed opportunity for the independent determination of her own political development and national policy, and assure her of a sincere welcome into the society of free nations under institutions of her own choosing; and, more than a welcome, assistance also of every kind that she may need and may herself desire. The treatment accorded Russia by her sister nations in the months to come will be the acid test of their good will, of their comprehension of her needs as distinguished from their own interests, and of their intelligent and unselfish sympathy.

VII. Belgium, the whole world will agree, must be evacuated and restored without any attempt to limit the sovereignty which she enjoys in common with all other free nations. No other single act will serve as this will serve to restore confidence among the nations in the laws which they have themselves set and determined for the government of their relations with one another. Without this healing act the whole structure and validity of international law is forever impaired.

VIII. All French territory should be freed and the invaded portions restored; and the wrong done to France by Prussia in 1871 in the matter of Alsace-Lorraine, which has unsettled the peace of the world for nearly fifty years, should be righted, in order that peace may once more be made secure in the interest of all.

IX. A readjustment of the frontiers of Italy should be effected along clearly recognizable lines of nationality!

X. The peoples of Austria-Hungary, whose place among the nations we wish to see safeguarded and assured, should be accorded the freest opportunity of autonomous development.

XI. Roumania, Serbia, and Montenegro should be evacuated; occupied territories restored; Serbia accorded free and secure access to the sea; and the relations of the several Balkan States to one another determined by friendly counsel along historically established lines of allegiance and nationality; and international guaranties of the political and economic independence and territorial integrity of the several Balkan States should be entered into.

XII. The Turkish portions of the present Ottoman Empire should be assured a secure sovereignty, but the other nationalities which are now under Turkish rule should be assured an undoubted security of life and an absolutely unmolested opportunity of autonomous development, and the Dardanelles should be permanently opened as a free passage to the ships and commerce of all nations under international guaranties.

XIII. An independent Polish State should be erected which should include the territories inhabited by indisputably Polish populations, which should be assured a free and secure access to the sea, and whose political and economic independence and territorial integrity should be guaranteed by international covenant.

XIV. A general association of nations must be formed, under specific covenants, for the purpose of affording mutual guaranties of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small States alike.

We have no jealousy of German greatness, and there is nothing in this program that impairs it. We grudge her no achievement or distinction of learning or of specific enterprise, such as have made her record very bright and very enviable. We do not wish to injure her or to block in any way her legitimate influence or power. We do not wish to fight her either with arms or with hostile arrangements of trade, if she is willing to associate herself with us and the other peace-loving nations of the world in covenants of justice and law and fair dealing. We wish her only to accept a place of equality among the peoples of the world—the new world in which we now live—instead of a place of mastery.”—Address to Congress dealing with the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, setting forth a peace program in fourteen articles, January 8th, 1918.

“The method the German Chancellor proposes is the method of the Congress of Vienna. We cannot and will not return to that. What is at stake now is the peace of the world. What

we are striving for is a new international order based upon broad and universal principles of right and justice—no mere peace of shreds and patches. Is it possible that Count von Hertling does not see that, does not grasp it, is in fact living in his thought in a world dead and gone? Has he utterly forgotten the Reichstag resolutions of the 19th of July, or does he deliberately ignore them? They spoke of the conditions of a general peace, not of national aggrandizement or of arrangements between State and State. . . .

The principles to be applied are these:

First, that each part of the final settlement must be based upon the essential justice of that particular case and upon such adjustments as are most likely to bring a peace that will be permanent;

Second, that peoples and provinces are not to be bartered about from sovereignty to sovereignty as if they were mere chattels and pawns in a game, even the great game, now forever discredited, of the balance of power; but that—

Third, every territorial settlement involved in this war must be made in the interest and for the benefit of the populations concerned, and not as a part of any mere adjustment or compromise of claims among rival States; and—

Fourth, that all well-defined national aspirations shall be accorded the utmost satisfaction that can be accorded them without introducing new or perpetuating old elements of discord and antagonism that would be likely in time to break the peace of Europe and consequently of the world.”—Extract from speech discussing the German and Austrian replies to his proposals of January 8th, and setting forth four fundamental principles of a general peace, February 11, 1918.

“I am happy to draw apart with you to this quiet place of old counsel in order to speak a little of the meaning of this day of our nation’s independence. . . .

It is significant . . . that Washington and his associates, like the Barons at Runnymede, spoke and acted, not for a class, but for a people. It has been left for us to see to it that it shall be understood that they spoke and acted, not for a single people only, but for all mankind. . . . They entertained no private purpose, desired no peculiar privilege. They were consciously planning that men of every class should be free and America a place to which men out of every nation might resort who wished to share with them the rights and privileges of free men. And we take our cue from them—do we not? We intend what they intended. We here in America believe our participation in this present war to be only the fruitage of what they planted. Our case differs from theirs only in this, that it is our inestimable privilege to concert with men out of

every nation who shall make not only the liberties of America secure but the liberties of every other people as well. We are happy in the thought that we are permitted to do what they would have done had they been in our place. There must now be settled, once for all, what was settled for America in the great age upon whose inspiration we draw today. . . . This, then, is our conception of the great struggle in which we are engaged. The plot is written plain upon every scene and every act of the supreme tragedy. On the one hand stand the peoples of the world—not only the peoples actually engaged, but many others, also, who suffer under mastery but cannot act; peoples of many races and in every part of the world—the people of stricken Russia still, among the rest, though they are for the moment unorganized and helpless. Opposed to them, masters of many armies, stand an isolated, friendless group of Governments, who speak no common purpose, but only selfish ambitions of their own, by which none can profit but themselves, and whose peoples are fuel in their hands. . . . Governments clothed with the strange trappings and the primitive authority of an age that is altogether alien and hostile to our own. The Past and the Present are in deadly grapple, and the peoples of the world are being done to death between them.

There can be but one issue. The settlement must be final. There can be no compromise. No halfway decision would be tolerable. No halfway decision is conceivable. These are the ends for which the associated peoples of the world are fighting—the ends which must be conceded to them before there can be peace:

I. The destruction of every arbitrary power anywhere that can separately, secretly, and of its single choice disturb the peace of the world; or, if it cannot be presently destroyed, at the least its reduction to virtual impotence.

II. The settlement of every question, whether of territory, of sovereignty, of economic arrangement, or of political relationship, upon the basis of the free acceptance of that settlement by the people immediately concerned, and not upon the basis of the material interest or advantage of any other nation or people which may desire a different settlement for the sake of its own exterior influence or mastery.

III. The consent of all nations to be governed in their conduct toward each other by the same principles of honor and of respect for the common law of civilized society that govern the individual citizens of all modern States in their relations with one another; to the end that all promises and covenants may be sacredly observed, no private plots or conspiracies hatched, no selfish injuries wrought with impunity, and a

mutual trust established upon the handsome foundation of a mutual respect for right.

IV. The establishment of an organization of peace which shall make it certain that the combined power of free nations will check every invasion of right and serve to make peace and justice the more secure by affording a definite tribunal of opinion to which all must submit and by which every international readjustment that cannot be amicably agreed upon by the peoples directly concerned shall be sanctioned.

These great objects can be put into a single sentence. What we seek is the reign of law, based upon the consent of the governed and sustained by the organized opinion of mankind. . . .

I can fancy that the air of this place carries the accents of such principles with a peculiar kindness. Here were started forces which the great nation against which they were primarily directed at first regarded as a revolt against its rightful authority, but which it has long since seen to have been a step in the liberation of its own people as well as of the people of the United States; and I stand here now to speak—speak proudly and with confident hope—of the spread of this revolt, this liberation, to the great stage of the world itself! The blinded rulers of Prussia have roused forces they know little of—forces which, once roused, can never be crushed to earth again; for they have at their heart an inspiration and a purpose which are deathless and of the very stuff of triumph!”—The Mount Vernon Address, delivered at the grave of Washington by President Wilson, July 4, 1918.

“It is of capital importance that it should also be explicitly agreed that no peace shall be obtained by any kind of compromise or abatement of the principles we have avowed as the principles for which we are fighting. . . .

That price is impartial justice in every item of the settlement, no matter whose interest is crossed; and not only impartial justice, but also the satisfaction of the several peoples whose fortunes are dealt with. That indispensable instrumentality is a League of Nations formed under covenants that will be efficacious. Without such an instrumentality, by which the peace of the world can be guaranteed, peace will rest in part upon the word of outlaws, and only upon that word. For Germany will have to redeem her character, not by what happens at the peace table but by what follows.

And, as I see it, the constitution of that League of Nations and the clear definition of its objects must be a part, in a sense the most essential part, of the peace settlement itself. It cannot be formed now. If formed now, it would be merely a new

alliance confined to the nations associated against a common enemy. It is not likely that it could be formed after the settlement. It is necessary to guarantee the peace; and the peace cannot be guaranteed as an afterthought. The reason, to speak in plain terms again, why it must be guaranteed is that there will be parties to the peace whose promises have proved untrustworthy, and means must be found in connection with the peace settlement itself to remove that source of insecurity. It would be folly to leave the guarantee to the subsequent voluntary action of the Governments we have seen destroy Russia and deceive Roumania. . . .

These, then, are some of the particulars:

First, the impartial justice meted out must involve no discrimination between those to whom we wish to be just and those to whom we do not wish to be just. It must be a justice that plays no favorites and knows no standard but the equal rights of the several peoples concerned;

Second, no special or separate interest of any single nation or group of nations can be made the basis of any part of the settlement which is not consistent with the common interest of all;

Third, there can be no leagues or alliances or special covenants and understandings within the general and common family of the League of Nations;

Fourth, and more specifically, there can be no special, selfish economic combinations within the league and no employment of any form of economic boycott or exclusion except as the power of economic penalty by exclusion from the markets of the world may be vested in the League of Nations itself as a means of discipline and control;

Fifth, all international agreements and treaties of every kind must be made known in their entirety to the rest of the world. Special alliances and economic rivalries and hostilities have been the prolific source in the modern world of the plans and passions that produce war. It would be an insincere as well as an insecure peace that did not exclude them in definite and binding terms. . . .

In the same sentence in which I say the United States will enter into no special arrangements or understandings with particular nations let me say also that the United States is prepared to assume its full share of responsibility for the maintenance of the common covenants and understandings upon which peace must henceforth rest. We still read Washington's immortal warning against 'entangling alliances' with full comprehension and an answering purpose. But only special and limited alliances entangle; and we recognize and accept the duty of a new day in which we are permitted to hope for a

general alliance which will avoid entanglements and clear the air of the world for common understandings and the maintenance of common rights. . . .

And I believe that the leaders of the Governments with which we are associated will speak, as they have occasion, as plainly as I have tried to speak. I hope they will feel free to say whether they think that I am in any degree mistaken in my interpretation of the issues involved or in my purpose with regard to the means by which a satisfactory settlement of those issues may be obtained. Unity of purpose and of counsel are as imperatively necessary in this war as was unity of command in the battlefield; and with perfect unity of purpose and counsel will come assurance of complete victory. 'Peace drives' can be effectively neutralized and silenced only by showing that every victory of the nations associated against Germany brings the nations nearer the sort of peace which brings security and reassurance to all peoples and make the recurrence of another such struggle of pitiless force and bloodshed forever impossible, and that nothing else can. Germany is constantly intimating the 'terms' she will accept; and always finds that the world does not want terms. It wishes the final triumph of justice and fair dealing."—President Wilson's Address, in the Metropolitan Opera House, opening Fourth Liberty Loan, New York City, September 28, 1918.

Economic Internationalism

"The war has shown how complete is the economic interdependence of the nations and how shadowy and incomplete is any political independence where economic independence is lacking. Without such progress towards joint economic action and equal economic opportunity among the nations, no internationalism is permanently possible.

More and more the economic needs of the nations will demand the granting of rights which it is in the present power of other nations to refuse. Arrangements rendered necessary by such demands would of course conflict with our present theories of absolute and uncontrolled national sovereignty. But that conception must vanish in any case, if we are to secure any effective international organization.

The time for this shrinking of sovereignty, for this creation of a larger loyalty, for the laying of the foundation of a new internationalism is now. Without such an end the war will have been a failure. There will be no true victory, for none will have gained anything except a return to the old insecurity, the old injustice, the old fear and cruelty and bloodshed of the past"—Walter E. Weyl, "The End of the War," pp. 269-271.

Alliances and a Balance of Power

"Alliances give no security that the stable equilibrium will be maintained, and the armed peace kept. 'Treaties,' as Lord Salisbury once put it, 'are mortal.' Alliances may be renewed from term to term, but seals and signatures are no guarantee that their provisions will be faithfully observed. Calculations of self-interest inspired them; the same order of motives may make it inexpedient to fulfil the bargain. . . .

We have followed for nearly a decade a policy defined as the preservation in Europe of 'a balance of power.' . . . All metaphors mislead, and this metaphor is peculiarly fallacious. One may doubt whether any statesman in his own inner mind ever desired a balance, if the word means what it conveys—an exact equipoise in force and influence among the Powers of Europe. What every statesman desires is that the scales of power shall be more heavily weighted on his own side."—Henry N. Brailsford, "The War of Steel and Gold," pp. 19, 20, 27.

Effect of Foreign Investments on International Relations

"It would be an instructive study to follow the migrations of capital in order to see how far funds invested in foreign parts are a cause of difficulty or friction in international relationships.

It has been pointed out that *trade* does not as a rule create political disturbance because the trader is interested simply in selling goods. When the market fails, he 'folds his tent like the Arabs' and silently steals away. This is broadly true.

But capital acquires a certain fixed stake when it leaves home and settles in a foreign land. It becomes the possessor of property which can be seized or destroyed. Therefore, the political and social situation in the land where the operations are carried on is of prime importance to the investor.

Of course, capital generally accumulates in the more progressive lands. Effective industrial organization produces a surplus for further operations. Now, why does the investor gaze abroad? His motives are, no doubt, a queer mixture. Sometimes it is just the spirit of adventure. Sometimes it is a genuinely altruistic urging. Sometimes it is because certain of his home interests are dependent upon a steady flow of supplies from another part of the world, and he sends capital out to keep the flow steady. But we must admit that in the majority of cases it is the hope of larger profits that is the main cause. And we cannot say that this impulse moves the wealthy alone; the small investor is often dazzled by the story of the wonderful possibilities of some far-off land.

In passing it is proper to note that capital has generally made

its deductions too hastily. It has surveyed the home field and decided that, in the face of a falling rate of interest, it is time to get out. An English economist has suggested that this is like the primitive agriculturist. He keeps breaking open new ground because he has not learned to conserve the values of the ground that has already borne fruit. It is surely not unreasonable to suggest that if the industry that created the capital had been willing to increase wages and thus raise the home standard of living, the increased demands of the people would open up a new field for investment right at home. This would mean less profits at first, but would give a more stable result—and less temptation to uncertain adventure.

Experienced promoters would be the first to grant that while many foreign investments are productive only of good both at home and abroad, a larger proportion of migratory capital has started out like a roaring lion seeking whom it may devour. The temptation has been to gain enormous profits in countries where governments may be corrupted and cheap labor exploited to the full. The colored races in backward countries as a rule supply a low grade of labor, but it can be purchased at such a very low price that, apart from the nervous strain on overseers, it is very much cheaper than at home. The deliberate corruption of officials is a tale too familiar and too sad to bear repeating.

The large profits accumulated by foreign investments in backward countries, whether the enterprises are legitimate or not, are usually justified on the ground of the great hazard. We are reminded constantly that it is all uncertain, a difficult adventure—a gamble. Well and good! But is it quite fair, when the cards begin to fall against the adventurer, that he should demand that the home government forthwith step in and guarantee him against loss? Exploited labor may revolt, corrupt officials do not always 'stay bought,' even legitimate adventures may be wrecked by local circumstances; but the investor knew it was a gamble in the first place. Is it not an open question whether or not the home government should pour out blood and money to turn the enterprise into a 'sure thing' for the adventurers? If the home government should demand in return for its protection the difference between the swollen profits and the normal rate of interest at home, capital would not be so eager to wander into uncertain fields.

Of course, this is only one aspect of the case; but it is an important one just the same."—From a private letter.

The Possibilities for a League of Nations

"A League of Peace must answer two tests. First: Can it be

so composed that in normal times it will assure to all its members such a prospect of fair decisions in disputes, and such a chance of effecting reasonable changes in the world when they are due, that war will be unnecessary? Secondly: Can it be so composed that there will be in every probable contingency an available superiority of military and naval strength at the command of the League, if any member of it should resort to aggression? . . .

Absurd as it may seem to us British, the risk to the German mind will be that Britain might not be loyal, that she might not in every issue consent to a process of conciliation, and might not always accept the award of a Court or the recommendation of a Council. We must consent to smother our natural indignation and examine this hypothesis. Unless the League can reassure Germany, there can be no League of Peace; there could only be an anti-German alliance of the old-world type. . . .

If the worst should happen, if some Power or Powers should break away from the League and threaten aggression, could the United States redress the balance, and make good to the loyal Powers by its aid what they might have lost by their own previous moderation? Unless this question is answered in the affirmative, the League will not be formed, or if it is formed, it will be a meaningless decoration, a plaster ornament which will fail to disguise the sinister old structure of the armed peace. In plain words, would the United States have the will and the power, once the League was formed, to oppose aggression so firmly as to make it unprofitable? To this question Mr. Wilson has given a dramatic answer by his entry into the world war. . . .

President Wilson's speeches are, in effect an offer to guarantee a League of Peace and to back international treaties by the promise that America will in the last resort intervene against the aggressor and the treaty-breaker. In other words, she stands security for such treaties in the future. Her intervention is a new fact, a guarantee of a kind with which the past was unacquainted. We need place no implicit trust in Germany's good faith, but with the certainty that America's power would be added to the forces that opposed her, if she should refuse to adopt the procedure of conciliation, it would no longer be necessary to question the value of Germany's signature to the constitution of a League of Peace. No Power will resort to aggression if it must by so doing raise invincible odds against itself. . . .

The historic conception of a League of Peace took no account whatever of the world's need of change, growth, and readjustment. It seemed, indeed, to be a provision against the very

possibility of change. The Christian sovereigns, who were to form the Confederation sketched by the Abbé de Saint-Pierre, based their League upon a mutual guarantee, for all time, of all the States which they actually possessed. The map of Europe would have been fixed for ever by such an arrangement, and neither by revolution nor by conquest could any change have occurred in the distribution of territory. That could have come about only by marriage or inheritance. Poland would have been saved, but there could have been no united Germany, no Italy, no Belgium, and no Norway. Unless we can make our League a possible instrument of fundamental change, it will rally the satisfied Powers and repel the peoples which cherish an ambition or suffer from a wrong."—Henry N. Brailsford, "A League of Nations," pp. 47; 52-53; 50; 58; 81; 84.

CHAPTER IV

Foundations for a New World

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHAT ARE THE PRINCIPLES MOST IMPORTANT AS THE FOUNDATIONS FOR A NEW WORLD?

1. *A comparison of the principles for settling the war with those necessary for building a new world.*

a. How do the principles which must be used in settling the war differ from those which are necessary in building the new world?

b. To what extent can President Wilson's proposals for international relations in the new world be applied to social problems within the nation?

2. *The application of President Wilson's proposals to the building of a new world.*

a. President Wilson has proposed a full opportunity for all nations and peoples in the new world.

(1) To what extent must President Wilson's proposal for equal opportunity be considered to include an equal chance for all individuals as well as nations? What does democracy mean for the opportunity of the individual?

(2) Just how much equality of opportunity is there for the individual in America? To what extent is our country a democracy?

(3) On what basis is the individual valued in modern industry? On what basis did Jesus evaluate the individual? What does Jesus' estimate demand in industrial life? In national affairs?

(4) What place will democracy, and what place will

autocracy have in national and international life, if it is Christian?

- (5) What is the essential meaning of democracy?
- (6) How practicable, as one of the foundations for a new world, is the principle, "An equal opportunity for all"?

b. President Wilson has proposed that social groupings, such as nations, shall be held accountable for their actions the same as individuals.

- (1) Why has President Wilson insisted that a nation shall be held accountable for its acts on the same principle as the individual?
- (2) To what extent should other social groupings, such as industrial concerns, business houses, and municipalities, be held thus responsible?
- (3) How does the responsibility for one's acts compare in the case of the individual, with that of the social group?
- (4) How practicable, as a second foundation for the new world, is the principle, "Social groupings responsible equally with individuals in the new world"?

c. President Wilson has proposed that the goal of national and international life shall be the common good rather than national profit or aggrandizement.

- (1) What is the goal of national life at present? How can a nation be expected to consider other nations in its plans?
- (2) What is the goal of a business or industrial concern? How far can this goal of the common good be made the purpose of business?
- (3) Why did Jesus insist that the Kingdom of God should be the goal of all effort? How would you modernize that phrase? In what ways do the following terms differ?

Kingdom of God.

Common good.

The Christian social order.

A new world democracy.

- (4) How practicable as the third foundation for a new world is the principle, "The goal of all life, the common good rather than personal profit"?

d. President Wilson has proposed in international affairs that the cooperation of free people through some such organization as a league of nations shall take the place of the present competitive alliances and balance of power.

- (1) How far must competition continue in the new world? How far can it be replaced by co-operation?
- (2) How far is cooperation in place of competition possible in business and industrial life?
- (3) Must the strong stand up for the weak? What does this mean in international affairs?
- (4) How will good will and hate between people compare in emphasis in the new world?
- (5) After further reflection, what do you now think of the practicability of a league of nations as the expression, politically, of this ideal?
- (6) How practicable as the fourth foundation for a new world is the principle, "Cooperation and good will rather than competition and rivalry"?

3. *The British Labour Party's program for social reconstruction.*

a. What are the four pillars which this party proposes as the foundation for the new house? What is the practicability of these proposals? Test them with President Wilson's principles.

b. Who make up the British Labour Party? Is there any corresponding party in America?

4. *The hopes of Christians for a new world.*

a. It has been said that Christians are greatly interested in getting ready for the next world, but cannot be counted upon very much in helping make this world better. How much do Christians really believe in a new earth as well as a future heaven?

b. How much attention does the Bible give to the possibilities of a new age? What is the Kingdom of God, as set forth in the Bible?

c. Where is the Kingdom of God to be set up—in the hearts of men, or in social, industrial, and political life? When are business, industrial, and political life, a part of the Kingdom of God? What is the difference between the Kingdom of God and the Republic of the United States? The Kingdom of God and a new world democracy?

d. What was Jesus' attitude toward the Kingdom of God? What are the main points of emphasis in Jesus' proposals for a new world? How revolutionary, really, are Jesus' ideals?

e. How much are Christians really working to bring in the Kingdom of God on earth? What help can Christians give those who are working and hoping for a new world in all nations?

5. *The foundations for a Christian world.*

a. In the light of these and other constructive proposals, what do you consider the most essential principles to be followed in building a new world?

b. Can the world be rebuilt on Jesus' plan?

III. AFTER WINNING THE WAR WHAT ARE THE NEXT MOST IMPORTANT STEPS IN BUILDING A NEW WORLD?

1. *What about business and industrial life?*

a. What is the goal of business and industry? Why

do men engage in these pursuits? How does service to the common good compare with profit as the goal of industry?

b. On what basis is the individual workman valued in industrial concerns? How would Jesus' principle of the evaluation of the individual change this?

c. What is the cause of strife and antagonism in the industrial order?

If the workmen are well paid and well fed, will they be satisfied? Why or why not? How far is industry an autocracy? To what extent can it be made a democracy without losing its efficiency? How can the owners and the workers share in the conduct and the rewards of industry?

d. How about competition? In what ways is it wasteful? In what ways is it efficient? How far is it true that competition is the life of trade? In what ways is it unchristian?

2. *What about international relations?*

a. In what regards are the relations between nations most Christian? Unchristian?

b. Upon further reflection, what principles can be made the basis of world relations? What are the most outstanding changes which will be required?

IV. WHY SHOULD CHRISTIANS BE ESPECIALLY INTERESTED IN THE SLOGAN "BUILDING A NEW WORLD"?

READING REFERENCES

The proposals of the British Labour Party may be found in: Supplement, *The New Republic*, "Labor and the New Social Order," March 23, 1918, and in "British Labor and After-War Issues," Arthur Gleason, *The Survey*, August 3, 1918.

Walter Rauschenbusch, "The Social Principles of Jesus." For a discussion of Jesus' principles which may be made the basis of the new world, see particularly

Chapter I, The Value of Life—Human Life and Personality Are Sacred. Chapter II, The Solidarity of the Human Family—Men Belong Together. Chapter III, Standing with the People—The Strong Must Stand Up for the Weak. Chapter IV, The Kingdom of God: Its Values—The Right Social Order Is the Highest Good for All. Chapter V, The Kingdom of God: Its Tasks—The Right Social Order Is the Supreme Task for Each. Chapter VI, A New Age and New Standards—As the Kingdom Comes Ethical Standards Must Advance.

Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianizing the Social Order." For a discussion of the Christianized sections of the social order, and the changes necessary in business and industrial life if it is to be Christian.

President Wilson's Messages. See Reading References and Reference Quotations, pp. 22-30.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

The British Labour Party's Proposals

"The British Labour Party is composed of 2,415,383 trade unionists (latest published figures), 146 trades councils, 93 local labor parties, 10,000 of the British Socialist Party, 35,000 of the Independent Labour Party, 2,140 Fabians. In other words, there are 50,000 'party Socialists' among 2,500,000 trade unionists. That is, 98 per cent of the British Labour Party is trade union, and 2 per cent is 'party Socialist' (even of that 2 per cent, a large fraction is trade union)."—Arthur Gleason, "British Labor and After-War Issues," *The Survey*, August 3, 1918.

This document proposes four pillars for the new world as follows:

1. *The Universal Enforcement of a National Minimum.* This means: "The securing to every member of the community, in good times and bad alike, of all the requisites of healthy life and worthy citizenship." It involves not only a minimum wage which will provide for subsistence, but also the careful organization of demobilization to prevent unemployment; attention by the state to the regulation of labor, so that there will be employment for all; and social insurance against unemployment. "Only on the basis of a universal application of the Policy of the National Minimum affording complete security against destitution, in sickness and health, in good times and bad alike, to

every member of the community, can any worthy social order be built up."

2. *The Democratic Control of Industry.* In this is included the national ownership and administration of the railways and canals, harbors and roads, posts and telegraphs, electric power, and coal and iron mines. It insists on the application of the principle of democracy not only to government, but to the control of industry.

3. *A Revolution in National Finance.* This proposal asks that taxation be planned so as to secure the necessary revenue without encroaching upon the minimum standard of life, without hampering production, and with as near as possible equal sacrifice by all. This means that the poor would only pay their proportionate share of taxes, that commodities that are consumed by the people should not be subject to tax, and that the heavier burden would be borne by income taxes on fortunes above a certain amount and super-taxes on excess profits. It is proposed that at the earliest possible moment the nation shall be freed from the national debt by a special capital levy, graduated according to ability to pay.

4. *The Surplus for the Common Good.* Instead of the surplus going into private fortunes, the proposal is to use the surplus for education, scientific research, playgrounds, and for various enterprises which will eliminate poverty and disease, and help forward the common good.—Condensed from "Labor and the New Social Order," Supplement, *The New Republic*, March 23, 1918.

The Hope of a Christian World

Professor Rauschenbusch closes his survey of the Christianized Sections of the Social Order with this prophecy of hope:

"If this analysis is even approximately correct, it ought to create an immense hopefulness in all Christian minds. Social Christianity is not, then, an untried venture. The larger part of the work of Christianizing our social order is already accomplished, and the success which has attended it ought to create a victorious self-assertion in all who stake their faith on its effectiveness. These redeemed portions of our social life are the portions to which our hearts go out in loving pride and loyalty. Christianity works."—Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianizing the Social Order," p. 155.

Our Unchristian Economic System

"It is in commerce and industry that we encounter the great collective inhumanities that shame our Christian feeling, such

as child labor and the bloody total of industrial accidents. Here we find the friction between great classes of men which makes whole communities hot with smoldering hate or sets them ablaze with lawlessness. To commerce and industry we are learning to trace the foul stream of sex prostitution, poverty, and political corruption. . . . Our first need is to analyze our economic system so that we may understand wherein and why it is fundamentally unchristian. . . .

In the old handicraft system ownership and power were widely distributed. Every little shop was an industrial unit, and every master mechanic was an independent power. Every apprentice could hope in time to become the owner of so simple a plant. This is the condition still prevailing generally in our farm life in America. Our farmers are workmen who own their instruments of production. They are workmen and capitalists combined in one. That makes them strong. . . .

On the other hand, our factory operatives have no right nor claim in the place, the tools, or the output of their work. They are propertyless men who own only their body and its working force. . . .

In the modern industrial order ownership and control are vested in an entirely different social group which stands apart from them by its interests, social status, habits of life, and modes of thought—the group of investors or capitalists. . . .

It is the extent and thoroughness of this two-class adjustment which differentiates the modern industrial order from the old. It is this also which creates its chief moral dangers. . . .

In addition, the class in control has no direct financial interest in the safety of the workers. If a machine breaks down, the owners must buy another; therefore the machines are kept oiled and burnished. If a man sickens through carbon-monoxide fumes or the heat of the blast furnaces, a new man steps in and it costs the owners nothing. A slave was cared for in sickness, because it would cost \$600 to \$1,200 to replace him; free laborers are replaced gratis. . . . Worse yet: in many ways the safety of the one class can be increased only by decreasing the income of the other class, and therewith Profit is pitted against Life. It costs money to install hoods and blowers to suck up the dust while grinding metals. It would cut down profit to substitute adult workers for the child workers. . . .

The corporation, which is fast becoming the agency through which we manage all our large affairs, interposes between the individuals of the owning class and the individuals of the working class in such a way that human kindness and good will get in a minimum of influence. The stockholders are scattered absentee owners. A corporation might be composed of retired missionaries, peace advocates, and dear old ladies, but their

philanthropy would cause no vibrations in the business end of the concern. On the other hand, the directors would never be in doubt that 4 per cent is a more acceptable rate of semi-annual dividend than 3 per cent, and by the time that desire for substantial profit reached the manager and superintendents, it might be transformed into a cut in wages, a speeding up of the machinery, a cruel system of fines, or any other form of heartlessness. . . .

Business is under the one great law of Profit. It is not carried on primarily to supply men with wholesome goods but to make a profit for the dealer. Almost all business men would prefer to sell good and wholesome things, but if they had the alternative between selling solid goods at slight profit, or flashy goods at a heavy profit, they would probably console themselves that the public demands the latter, and sell them. . . .

Our moral diagnosis of Business has given us fairly clear results. The economic wants of society are supplied by a system in which the middleman is the controlling factor. The dominant motive is not to supply human needs, but to make a profit for those who operate the system. The higher motives of human nature are not evoked and educated. The selfish motives are stimulated by fear and covetousness. Whatever moral goodness there is in business—and there is a great deal of it—comes through the fundamental soundness of human nature that insists on being kindly and fraternal; also through the fact that the main economic needs are clean and wholesome, and give moral worth to the work that supplies them. But the one law that pervades business, as completely as the law of gravitation pervades physics, is the law of profit. Profit means success, ease, safety, and opportunity for more profit. No profit means death. . . .

Jesus' Principles and the Economic Order

Whenever Jesus looked at any man singly, he saw and felt his divine worth; not on account of anything the man owned and knew, but on account of his humanity.

Whenever Jesus looked at men collectively, he saw and felt their unity and brotherhood. To him sin consists in that which divides, in war and hate, in pride and lies, in injustice and greed. Salvation consists in drawing together in love, as children of one Father. If any member of the human family is weak or perishing, it concerns all. The solidarity of mankind was the great conviction underneath all his teachings.

These fundamental utterances of the mind of Christ are the supreme law of Christendom. Anything that contradicts them is anarchic. The chief business of Christian men today is to

translate them into terms large enough to make them fully applicable to modern social life. Our economic organization will have to be transformed in these directions. It is unchristian as long as Men are made inferior to Things, and are drained and used up to make profit. It will be Christian when all industry is consciously organized to give to all the maximum opportunity of a strong and normal life. It is unchristian when it systematizes antagonism, inequality, tyranny, and exploitation. It will be Christian when it is organized to furnish the material foundation for love and solidarity by knitting men together through common aims and united work, by making their relations just and free, and by making the material welfare of each dependent on the efficiency, moral vigor, and good will of all.

A Christian order must be just. Unjust privilege and unearned incomes debase the upper classes by parasitism, deprive the lower classes of their opportunity to develop their God-given life, and make genuine fraternity impossible between the classes. . . .

A Christian economic order must offer to all members of the community the blessed influence of property rights. If modern industrial conditions no longer permit the workers a chance to own their productive plant and to accumulate enough for security, property must take the new form of a share in social wealth which will guarantee security in sickness and age and give a man an assured position in the workshop of the nation. . . .

Our economic order must work away from one-man power toward the democratizing of industry. It must take the taxing powers of monopoly from an irresponsible aristocracy and put the people in full control of their own livelihood. It must do away with the present unethical inequalities of wealth and approximate a human equality. . . .

A Christian economic order must organize all workers in systematic and friendly cooperation, and so create the material basis for Christian fraternity. . . .

These fundamental demands of the Christian spirit are all simple and almost axiomatic, but they cut deep and are revolutionary enough to prove that they are really the laws of the Kingdom of God on earth."—Walter Rauschenbusch, "Christianizing the Social Order," pp. 156, 157; 163, 164; 164; 244; 185; 205; 213; 214; 327; 327; 328; 372; 373.

"You cannot have a social Christianity in China and an individualistic Christianity at home—not permanently, that is. You cannot say Japan ought to treat China unselfishly, care for the welfare of the young girls in its cotton factories and make place for the teaching of religion in its schools, and yet

allow America to make national selfishness the controlling principle of its foreign policy, treat disputes between capital and labor as private quarrels between individual groups, and divorce the teaching of the churches on Sunday from the practice of their members on the other six days of the week. If we are to have the missionary consciousness at all we must have it through and through, for in a very real sense missions, like charity, begin at home.

This missionary consciousness, then, that we wish to develop is something much bigger than a belief in foreign missions. It is the belief that Christian principles ought to be consistently applied in all human relations, beginning with those which lie nearest ourselves."—Wm. Adams Brown, D.D., "Developing the Missionary Consciousness in the Modern Man," *International Review of Missions*, Vol. 6, pp. 501-502.

CHAPTER V

Strategic Places in the New World

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO "MAKE THE WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY"?

II. WHAT NATIONS ARE INCLUDED IN THE WORLD?

1. *What nations do you think of usually when talking about the war? What nations are most directly concerned in the war?*

2. *What nations do you commonly think of when talking about the world after the war?*

3. *How far must President Wilson's guarantees be extended?*

a. To what extent must President Wilson's guarantee of equal opportunity for all nations be extended to those in the far East? Near East? South America?

b. What place will these countries have in a League of Nations?

c. What effect will these principles have upon the handling of African tribes?

d. How about India? Morocco? Egypt?

III. WHY MUST WE THINK OF ASIA, AFRICA, AND SOUTH AMERICA IF WE ARE TO HAVE A WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY?

1. *What proportion of the world's territory is included in these three continents? What is the population of these continents? What proportion does this make of the world's population?*

2. *Where are the greatest deposits of coal and iron? The greatest lumber supply? Greatest possibility in the development of water power? In the development of agricultural land? What proportion of these natural resources are in the continents of Asia, Africa, and South America?*

3. *How does the available man-power for industrial development in these continents compare with that in Europe and North America? How do they compare in possibilities of efficient labor?*

4. *Summarize the importance of Asia, Africa, and South America in the new world.*

IV. WHAT ARE THE GOVERNMENTAL ISSUES IN THESE CONTINENTS?

1. *Japan*

a. What form of government has Japan?

b. From what nation has she derived her military system and training?

c. What is Japan's relation to Korea? If Korea's national hopes are denied by Japan, how will it affect Asia?

d. If Japan remains an autocracy and decides upon a world empire policy, what effect will it have upon Asia? Upon the possibility of a world democracy?

2. *China*

a. What was the old government in China? Who were the Manchus? Describe briefly the form of government.

b. What caused the revolution in China? Why did the party desiring a constitutional monarchy lose? Why was Yuan Shih Kai unable to make himself Emperor? Why did China desire to be a republic?

c. What hope is there that China can really maintain a democratic form of government?

d. What significance is there for Asia and the growth of democratic government in the fact that a nation

representing one-fourth of the people of the world and the oldest conservative autocracy should be seeking to establish itself as a republic?

3. *India*

a. How much part have the people in the government of India?

b. Why did the Kaiser count on an uprising in India?

c. Why was India loyal?

d. What was the political condition of India before the British possession? What has British rule brought India politically?

e. What are the national hopes in India? Does India want independence or autonomy? What chance is there that Great Britain will give India an autonomous government, such as Canada? If she does not, or cannot, what effect will it have upon democracy in Asia?

f. What significance is there for democracy in the new world in the fact that the native leaders of 300,000,000 people, formerly divided in warring groups, are asking for self-government?

4. *The Philippines*

a. In what ways have the United States been preparing the Philippines for self-government?

b. What hope is there that this can be granted to the Filipino people?

c. Do you believe that the Philippines should be granted their independence? Why or why not?

d. How much has America's policy in the Philippines affected the growth of free government?

e. How much self-government have the Filipinos? What hope is there that the Islands can be granted complete self-government?

5. *Russia*

a. What proportion of Russia is in Asia? To what extent is Russia an Asiatic nation?

b. What was the real issue between the Czar and the revolutionists? Why did they not wait until the war was won before overthrowing the Czar?

c. If Asiatic Russia can become a part of the new free Russian republic or constitutional monarchy, what effect will it have upon Asia? Upon the hope for world democracy?

6. *The Near East*

a. How about the government of Turkey? Why did the Turkish revolution fail?

b. What religion is represented in Turkish patriotism and the massacre of the Armenians?

c. What hope is there of popular government in Turkey and Persia?

7. *Africa*

a. What races make up the people of North Africa? What is the hope of autonomous government in Egypt, Morocco, Algeria, Tripoli?

A missionary recently returned from North Africa states that the French governor is planning an autonomy among the Berbers because of the success of the Philippine experiment.

b. What chance is there that democratic principles can be applied in handling the backward native tribes in Africa? What lesson does Uganda give us?

c. How much free government is there in South Africa? Why?

8. *Suppose Asia and Africa cannot be included in the growth of free government, what effect will this have upon the possibility of world democracy?*

READING REFERENCES

"The New International Encyclopedia" or "Encyclopædia Britannica": Articles on Asia, Africa, South America and various countries, particularly size, population, natural resources, etc.

Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy." Gives a general survey of the size and possibilities of Asia, Africa, and South America, and the issues at stake with reference to a democratic form of government.

Sherwood Eddy, "The New Era in Asia." Deals with a survey of the situation in Asia up to 1913, including an account of the Chinese and Turkish Revolutions, and the Nationalistic Movement in India.

The best current articles will be found in *The Missionary Review of the World, Asia*, the journal of the American Asiatic Association, and *The World Outlook*.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

The Great Roll Call of Democracy

"It has long been a commonplace that steam and electricity have made the world a neighborhood, but the war has seized the old commonplace and made it bewilderingly vivid. The figure of a neighborhood is too spacious. The war is not so much a neighborhood quarrel as a fire in a tenement house where men are crowded together for life or death. A family in a tenement house has a highly substantial interest in the question whether the children across the hall play with matches. You cannot very well quarantine a fire in a tenement house. Nor can a war in this compacted and crowded home of the human family be quarantined. The flames of war which started in northern Europe soon spread down the corridors till two thirds of the race were involved in it.

Terrible as has been the occasion which has brought the world together, there is a profound spiritual significance in such vast portions of the world uniting in effort and thought. It raises the curtain on a new era. On that frontier of freedom which stretches from the English Channel clear down into Africa and Mesopotamia over twenty-five nations on the Allied side have answered 'Here' to the great roll call of democracy. If 'politics makes strange bed-fellows,' the war has made still stranger trench-fellows. The Gurkha from India, the Arab, the Algerian, and the Hottentot from Central Africa have spilled their blood along with the New Zealander, the Canadian, and the Belgian in the cause of freedom. The American airman fights with a British gun from a French machine. The Fiji Islander has gone over the top with his French and American brothers. The Sikh from India rightly wears the Victoria Cross for high valor along with his English comrade in arms. Each

in his own tongue repeats that glorious watchword of France—'They shall not pass.'—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 16-18.

"The entrance of the United States into the War was hailed with jubilation in the Orient. The leaders in India and China feel that the Americans will be their steadfast friends in the coming peace conference, holding out for the application to Asia as well as to Europe of the doctrine of the rights of weak nations. China seeks protection from aggression; she wishes to be permitted to manage her own affairs. India is insistently demanding that she be granted great extensions in the privileges of autonomy, and these demands are already being met in a spirit of great generosity by the British Government. Before the war the Mohammedans of Java were stirring ominously. They agreed to postpone the presentation of their demands until after the war, but there is little doubt that the Netherlands East Indies will share also in the vindication of the rights of weak races.

The entire Orient is beginning to stir with self-consciousness. The Pan-Asia Movement is small, perhaps too small to be worthy of serious attention at present; but it is indicative of a new life and vitality that hitherto have been quite unknown in Asia outside of Japan. It may yet appear that the most permanent contribution which the United States has to make to the settlement of the present world disorder will be made, not on the battlefields of Europe, but on the plains of Asia. The war must be won; yes, but after victory is obtained, we shall have to face the other problem of conserving the results of the victory to those neglected and restless areas of the East."—Tyler Dennett, "Foreign Missions and World-Wide Democracy."

The Great Bulk of the World

"Africa comprises nearly one-fourth of the earth's land surface.

Africa is four times the size of the United States, and ten thousand times as large as the state of Rhode Island. It is as great a distance around the coast of Africa as it is around the world.

Every eighth person of the world's population lives on the Dark Continent. The blacks double their numbers every forty years and the whites every eighty years.

There are 843 languages and dialects in use among the blacks of Africa. Comparatively few of these languages have been reduced to writing.

The coal fields of Africa aggregate 800,000 square miles; its copper fields equal those of North America and Europe com-

bined, and its undeveloped iron ore amounts to five times that of North America.

Africa has forty thousand miles of river and lake navigation, and water power aggregating ninety times that of Niagara Falls."—Rev. J. E. Crowther, "Striking Facts about Africa."

"While India embraces only one fifteenth of the world's area, it contains one fifth of the population of the globe, about 315,000,000. With an area a little less than one half that of the United States, including Alaska, it has three times the population. It has more races than in all Europe and 147 languages. . . .

Out of a population of 315,000,000, 280,000,000 live in villages. It is estimated that there are over 730,000 villages in India. In the vivid picturing of Bishop Warne, 'If Christ had started on the day of his baptism to preach in the villages of India, visiting one village each day, he would still have 30,000 villages to visit.' In other words, he would not complete the trip until the year 2000."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 91, 92.

"In India are the highest mountains in the world. Engineers have not yet trained all her mighty rivers to fertilize the land nor have they transformed into transmissible electric energy one-millionth part of the power which these waters generate by the fall from their high Himalayan sources. The mineral resources of India have so far only been scratched at, and mining experts and bold financiers have the richest field for their enterprise. One fifth of the area of India is covered with forest. In Burma alone the area under tree-growth is equal to the area of the whole of Italy. The trees have grown and decayed and grown again in unutilized succession for countless ages: they only await the forest engineer with his light railways, his wire rope-ways, his many mechanical contrivances to make the valuable material available for the purposes of man. The Indian climate is trying for human beings but it is good for plants. The rainfall, though variable and very unevenly distributed, is in most parts plentiful. The soil is generally fertile. Labor is abundant. Yet with these combined advantages the agricultural out-turn is far below what it ought to be. One hundred and fifteen million acres of culturable land still await the planters who will clear the forest and heavy grass lands and with modern mechanical contrivances do what the poor native cultivator with his inadequate equipment is wholly unable to accomplish."—Francis Younghusband, "Our Aim in India," *The Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1918. No. 492. Pages 272, 273.

"A hungry world will listen with interest to at least one claim made for Malaysia: *it could feed the globe*. Perhaps there may

be a slight touch of exaggeration to that claim, as there has been to some other statements about real estate. Nevertheless, it is within easy hailing distance of the truth. It is not a guess or fervent hope, but the scientific appraisal of experts. Malaysia, contains a million square miles of exceedingly fertile soil, tropical abundance, and frequent harvests. It can produce three yearly harvests of rice or any other tropical grain. Its resources have barely been touched. So there is some solid foundation for the belief that Malaysia, if her resources were properly developed, could invite the world into her dining room and say with calm assurance, 'Ladies and gentlemen, be seated!' . . . Malaysia consists of the Malay Peninsula in the southeast of Asia, pointing like a forefinger down at the south pole, and the most wonderful group of islands in the world, including four large ones, Sumatra, Borneo, New Guinea, and Java, and thousands of smaller ones. . . .

With the exception of Java there is plenty of room for more in Malaysia. It would seem that Java must soon be forced to hang out the sign 'Standing Room Only' at all of her ports. Under the wise rule of the Dutch the population has increased in two centuries from 2,000,000 to 30,000,000. There are 720 people to the square mile, more than in any country in Europe. If the other islands attain a density equal to Java, they will hold 720,000,000 instead of 50,000,000 or 60,000,000. There is room for many millions, and large streams of immigration are already flowing from China and India. . . . Immigration is fast making not only a vast, developing civilization in Malaysia, but is making a new race. Over 250,000 Chinese and 60,000 from India are coming to Malaysia every year and are rapidly interfusing with the Malays. It is the true melting pot of Asia."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 151, 152, 154.

"China's location is in what Gladstone called 'the zone of power' where all masterful races have dwelt. She has every variety of climate, with rich soil and vast mountain ranges, from which dash great cascades, transformable, like Niagara, into future electric and industrial power. S. E. Little, geographical expert on China, says that no land can compare with China in the extent of its waterways, a network of canals as vast as cheap, uniting many sections of the land. . . .

The eighteen provinces of China constitute one tenth of the inhabitable globe. They cover as much area as Europe, one and one half times the size of the United States plus Alaska; and these eighteen provinces are less in size than the four fringed dependencies: Manchuria, Mongolia, East Turkestan, and Tibet. . . .

China's natural resources can scarcely be exaggerated. Every

one of these great provinces of China is rich in the most necessary oils and ores and minerals. One of the keys to understand the reason why the great nations of Christendom have repeatedly taken China by the throat and shaken her for every sort of concession—mining, railroading, oil fields, territory, harbors—is this—the natural resources of China.”—Rev. Charles E. Scott, “China, the Coming Power,” *Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1916.

“South America is three times as large as China and four times as large as India. Brazil itself, the fourth largest country in the world, is larger than the whole of Europe. . . . The whole United States could be put into Brazil and leave room for four states the size of New York. The Argentine Republic . . . could hold all of the United States east of the Mississippi plus the first tier of states west of it. Try a ‘little country’ like Venezuela. Texas, which we think of as an empire in itself, would go into Venezuela twice, leaving room for Kentucky and Tennessee. We call Chile ‘the Shoestring Republic,’ but we forget what a large shoe it would make a string for. Narrow, it is true, but long enough to reach from New York to San Francisco and have enough to tie a knot with. . . . South America has larger areas unknown than any continent, not excepting Africa. . . .

Half the rubber of the world comes from tropical America. From Brazil comes four-fifths of the world’s coffee supply, and from its diamond fields more gems than any part of the world except South Africa. Argentina alone, in 1914, possessed over 123,000,000 head of live stock—sheep, cattle horses, pigs, etc. . . . The supposedly barren wastes of Peru the same year yielded 1,700,000 tons of sugar cane, and from its mines was shipped \$10,000,000 worth of copper. . . .

South America will claim and receive the largest streams of immigration that are going to pour into the Western world in the next 200 years. . . . One of the most conservative estimates is that of Lord Bryce, who predicts that in two hundred years the population will be 375,000,000; while a common estimate is over a billion.”—Taylor-Luccock, “The Christian Crusade for World Democracy,” pp. 39-42.

A World in Transformation

“Not only are the continents of Asia, Africa, and South America the largest in the new world in territory, natural resources, and possibilities for the future, but in each of these continents the issues of democracy and autocracy—the issues of the war—are at stake.

All Asia is in the process of transformation. In each one

of the countries the issues between democracy and autocracy are being decided. Japan is at present an unlimited monarchy. She has copied her military system from Germany. She is in a place of leadership in Asia. Unless Japan introduces a representative government, she may become a menace rather than a help to democracy in Asia. Will she, in her relations with Korea, follow the policy of Germany or the policy of Great Britain and the United States in relation to this new part of her empire? Many friends of Korea think that while she has brought material advantages to Korea, she has robbed her of the priceless privilege of nationality and self-expression.

China represents one-fourth of the human family. It was the oldest autocracy in the world, a race with many of the characteristics of the Anglo-Saxons, with a country of unlimited natural resources. China may well become the deciding factor in the life of Asia. She overthrew the Manchu Dynasty. She refused to establish a constitutional monarchy. She insisted on a republic.

The Revolution in China in 1911 was the most remarkable in history. There had been growing unrest among the Chinese students returned from Japan and among the men who had been educated in America and the West. In South China, around Canton, and through the Yangtze Valley, there were numerous secret revolutionary societies. Dr. Sun Yat Sen and others had been working for a revolution among the Chinese in Japan, America, and other lands. Finally the revolution came in 1911. In less than three months fifteen of the eighteen provinces had joined the Revolution. On February 12, 1912, the edict proclaiming the abdication of the Manchu Dynasty was made. Dr. Sun Yat Sen was made first Provisional President, and later Yuan Shih Kai became first President of the Republic. In the actual Revolution itself there were fewer lives lost, according to Sherwood Eddy, than in the single Battle of Gettysburg in America during the Civil War. In many regards China cannot be called even yet a republic, but it is interesting to note that Yuan Shih Kai was not able to make himself emperor, nor Chang Hsun to restore the Manchu Dynasty. But while China has adopted nominally a republican form of government, in reality it is a democracy in promise, rather than in fulfillment. The question still remains undecided as to whether one-fourth of the human family shall be able to maintain their independence, and take their place among the great democracies of the world.

Before the British government took control of India it was divided into warring kingdoms, divided both on the lines of religion and of race. The British government has brought order out of chaos, has introduced railways, telegraph, roads, and

other forms of communication; has built irrigation works which have largely eliminated famine; and has brought increased material prosperity to India. Through subsidizing mission schools, and establishing government colleges, many Indians have had the opportunity to learn the English language. Until recently a native Indian could hold only minor positions in the government of India. All the more important posts were filled from Great Britain and given to Britishers. The more able Indians insist that India should have an autonomous government under the British flag, the same as in Canada.

The India National Congress, which met in 1916, was more fully representative of all India than any previous gathering. Both Hindus and Mohammedans participated. A joint program of reform was drafted and presented to the Viceroy. A proposed new home-rule plan of government has been prepared by the Secretary of State and the Viceroy of India for presentation to the British Parliament. It looks forward to responsible self-government in India. If Great Britain can and will grant an autonomous government in India, for three hundred million people, it will represent an epoch in the growth of free government.

In the Philippines, America has planned from the first on the basis of making the Filipinos self-governing. This was the reason for her widespread system of public school education. The Philippines occupy a strategic position, as one writer has well said. Nine hundred million people in the Far East are watching the experiment toward democracy among the Filipinos. Even in far away North Africa, a French Governor told a missionary recently that he hoped to see an autonomous government under the French flag in that section. 'Why not?' he said, 'Look at the American success of the experiment in the Philippines.'

In the near East the same problems are facing us. The young Turks, trained at Robert College and the Syrian Protestant College, organized a movement for progress, and at one time it looked as though they might be successful, but autocracy prevailed. One of the questions which will need to be settled after the war is, 'What shall be the future of Turkey?'

Africa has been divided up among the European nations. More than any other continent, its fate is directly associated with the results of the war. If European governments can follow the principles enunciated by President Wilson, and allow the native people to have a voice as to their future relationships, it will mark another mile-stone in the progress toward real democracy. If the success of the experiment in Uganda, where in twenty years under the influence of Mackay and his successors the ordinary progress of two hundred years has been

accomplished in that native kingdom, can be repeated in other parts of Africa, perhaps even the so-called dark continent may become a part of the new world democracy.

And so, not only in Europe, and in America, are the issues of democracy versus autocracy being decided. In very truth, the whole world is moving toward free government, a government of the people, for the people, and by the people."

The Discovery of the World

"The very name, 'The World War,' is more than a geographical measurement. It is history. For it records one of the greatest results of the war so far, *the discovery of the world as a whole*. It is prophecy as well. For the conflict is not only an appalling war *of* the world, but a war *for* a world, a new world. The hope of mankind for that new order of life is gathered up in the words in which President Wilson has voiced the mind and heart of the allied nations—"The world must be made safe for democracy."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," page 12.

CHAPTER VI

Democracy in the Making in the Far East

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

- I. FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF ITS RELATION TO THE MODERN WORLD AND THE PROGRESS OF LIBERAL INSTITUTIONS, CHARACTERIZE IN A FEW WORDS THE SITUATION IN EACH OF THE COUNTRIES IN ASIA.
- II. WHAT ARE THE PRESENT ISSUES IN THE FAR EAST WHICH ARE OF MOST IMPORTANCE IN THE FORMING OF A WORLD DEMOCRACY?
 - I. *Industrial revolution*
 - a. How does the industrial situation in the Orient today compare with that in England at the time of the industrial revolution? How does the situation differ in Japan, China, and India?
 - b. What problems are brought by the substitution of modern machinery and a factory system for individualistic hand power labor? What evidences are there of these problems in the Orient? In what regards will the industrial transformation in the Orient be similar, in what regard more serious than in Great Britain and the United States?
 - c. Can we prevent in the Orient the industrial exploitation of the long fight between labor and capital? If not, why not? If so, how?

d. What significance has the securing of social justice in the Far East in relation to social justice in the West? In the building of a world democracy?

2. *Health and sanitation*

a. How does the health of the Orient compare with the health of the United States? What makes the difference? What is the death rate in the Orient? Prevalence of disease? To what extent are these preventable?

b. What effect has undermined efficiency, through unsanitary conditions and death loss, upon the building of the new world democracy?

c. Just what influence has the missionary movement had on the health of the Orient?

3. *Status of women*

a. What influence has woman in the Orient?

b. Compare her status with that in the West.

c. What effect has her position had upon the ideas and ideals of the Orient?

d. How does the status of women differ in Japan, China, and India?

e. What evidence is there of the emancipation of women? What significance will this have in the new world?

4. *Governmental changes in the Orient*

a. In what country in the Orient is the government most stable? After what nation is the government in this country modelled?

How much danger is there that Prussian autocratic ideals will dominate the Orient?

b. In what countries have governmental changes been in progress or are being agitated? What is the issue in each? What hope is there of a republic in China? of a nationalistic movement being recognized in India?

c. If the Orient fails in democratic government, how

largely and in what ways will this affect democratic institutions in the Occident?

d. What is your prediction of what will happen in the Orient? What is your prayer?

e. How important in the progress of democratic institutions in the world is a governmental issue in the Orient?

5. *The modernization of the Far East*

a. What are the most striking changes in the Far East in the last quarter century?

b. How can the Orient conserve the best of her old civilization in the midst of these changes? How nearly has Asia adopted Western inventions and civilization?

c. What are the problems accompanying the introduction of Western civilization into the Oriental countries?

6. *Moral and religious foundations*

a. What are the religions of Japan? What are their most outstanding ideals? What effect have they had upon the life of Japan? How does Shintoism differ from patriotism? Just what is the religious issue in Japan today? How may Japan be saved from materialism and agnosticism and gain a moral dynamic which will hold her steady in the new world?

b. Just what are the strong and helpful and what the harmful influences of Confucianism in China? How is Buddhism there different from Buddhism in Japan and India? How do these religions differ in practice from their ideals? Why have spirit worship and superstition resulted from Confucianism? Why are the Chinese abandoning their idols? What dangers are involved? What shall be the new dynamic for China?

c. How do the Indian people compare with the Chinese in their religious inclinations? Why has

Hinduism become so low in its moral ideals? What effect has Hinduism had upon caste and upon the submerged classes? Upon social reform? What is the religious need of the Hindus? How about Moham-medanism?

7. *Christianity and the Orient*

Would you, or would you not, say that Christianity is the only hope of Asia? Why?

III. WHAT IS THE RELATION OF THESE ISSUES TO A WORLD DEMOCRACY?

1. *Why is it more difficult to isolate the Orient today than twenty-five years ago? Than five years ago?*

2. *What interest have the Occidental nations in the Oriental nations?*

3. *Suppose democracy fails in the Orient—what difference will it make anyway?*

4. *What hope is there of the success of democracy in the Orient?*

READING REFERENCES

"The New International Encyclopedia" or "Encyclopædia Britannica": Articles on Japan, China, Korea, India. Look especially for sections on recent history.

Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy." A survey of the principal issues in the countries of Asia. See Chapter III, China the Open Door to Four Million Minds; Chapter IV, The Leaven of Freedom at Work in India; Chapter VI, The Christian Mastery of the Pacific.

Eddy, "The New Era in Asia." Chapters II to VI. Deals with problems in Japan, Korea, China, and India. Covers situation up to 1913.

Soper, "The Faiths of Mankind." This covers a brief survey of the religions of the Far East, and will give data for answering the question, "Why cannot the native religions form the basis for a democratic government?" See Chapter II, Who is My Brother? Chapter III, Like God, Like People; Chapter

IV, Vanity, Vanity, All Is Vanity; Chapter V, The Wheel of the Excellent Law; Chapter VI, Honor Thy Father and Thy Mother; Chapter VII, Religion and Patriotism.

Tyler Dennett, "The Democratic Movement in Asia."

Current Magazines: *Missionary Review of the World*; *Asia*, the journal of the American Asiatic Association; *World Outlook*.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

The Island Empire

"The World War has brought to Japan a greatly increased material prosperity. Japan has gained within the last few years a new position as a World Power. She is now running the race with other Powers in the arena of world civilization. She is experiencing within her own life the throb of the world unrest. Many Christian leaders in Japan fear that because she has not suffered from the War as other nations have, but has experienced increased prosperity, she may miss the deeper lessons of the War; that her tendency to materialism may increase. Japan must be saved from this moral and spiritual peril. In her recently developing industrial problems, in her social evil, in her widespread agnosticism and atheism, it may be seen that Japan's need of Christianity is greater than it has ever been."—(Adapted from statements in *The International Review of Missions*.)

"The growth in Japan of industrial problems, painfully familiar in western lands, is engaging the earnest attention of Japanese Christians and of missionaries. A survey of industrial conditions in the Christian Movement portrays the effects of the change from feudalism to industrialism. Among these are the shifting of population, the physical deterioration due to unhealthy conditions, the rapid increase in women's labor, the weakening of the old restraints associated with the local ancestral shrines, and a new craving for excitement and vicious pleasures. The working classes have few means of access to the public ear and conscience; only eight per cent of the adult male population have electoral rights. Labor is, however, gradually awakening as a result of the system of universal education and through the reading of newspapers. Strikes have increased during the year owing to the rise in the price of living without a corresponding increase in wages. The new factory law which came into operation in 1916, though moderate in its scope and admitting of many exceptions, will, it is hoped, prove to be the beginning of legislation for the welfare of the

workers.”—*The International Review of Missions*. Jan., 1918, p. 5.

“We may very fittingly take off our hats when our steamer docks in Japan, for we have reached the Land of Achievement. It is just ‘fifty years since the Reformation of 1868,’ when Japan began to adopt Western civilization. In that time she has become almost more modern than her teachers. . . .

Japan leads Asia—but whither? That is the question which confronts the world today. . . .

In the words of Count Okuma, the former prime minister, ‘Japan at present may be likened to a sea into which a hundred currents of Oriental and Occidental thoughts have poured, and, not having effected a fusion, are raging, wildly tossing, warring, roaring. The old religion and old morals are steadily losing their hold and nothing has yet arisen to take their place.’ The new environment, commercial and industrial, and the new wealth in many quarters, are increasing luxury, license, and lust. It is no exaggeration to say the life blood of the nation is being drained off by immorality. The educational system of Japan, so admirable in many ways, has been powerless to prevent the moral peril. The teaching of religion and ethics founded on religion is prohibited in the schools and the moral teaching given is shallow, urging patriotism and loyalty without giving a reasonable and fundamental basis. Among the influential student class, agnosticism, selfishness, contempt for the family tie, and materialism are destructive influences. . . .

The industrial revolution brings a new demand for a strong moral sense and quickened conscience. The increase of factories, from 125 to 20,000 in thirty-four years, brings grave dangers to the nation. A vigorous moral and social conscience is needed to protest against the waste and cruelty of child labor if the nation is not to suffer frightful loss. Government statistics declare that out of every hundred girls to enter factory work, twenty-three die within one year of their return home, and of these fifty per cent die of tuberculosis. Nothing but the realization of the Christian conception of the intrinsic worth of the individual will save Japan from the wide destructiveness of modern machinery driven by commercial greed.”—Taylor-Luccock, “The Christian Crusade for World Democracy,” pp. 137, 139, 140, 141.

Awakening the Giant of the Orient

“To try to picture the transformation which China is undergoing puts a hard strain on the dictionary. Writers on China in the past fifteen years have ransacked the dictionary for all the words that look like the Whirlpool Rapids below Niagara

Falls and have pressed them into service. We have had in rapid succession *China in Convulsion*, *The Conflict of Color*, *The Changing Chinese*, *The New Day in China*, *The Uplift*, *The Awakening*, *The Emergency*, *The Revolution*, *China Inside Out*, and *China Upside Down*. It takes a whole conspiracy of picturesque words to express what is going on. It is a political revolution, a moral advance, an intellectual renaissance, a religious reformation, and a nineteenth century of scientific and industrial development all combined."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 63-64.

"But nowadays world processes are telescoped and history is made at aviation speed. The exciting part of the transformation of China will take place in our time. In forty years there will be telephones and moving picture shows and appendicitis and sanitation and baseball nines and bachelor maids in every one of the thirteen hundred districts of the empire. The renaissance of a quarter of the human family is occurring before our eyes, and we have only to sit in the parquet and watch the stage."—Edward A. Ross, "The Changing Chinese."

"A population of nearly four hundred millions of people, set in one of the most productive areas in the world, one half as large as the United States, including Alaska; with coal and iron resources as rich as those of any land on earth; a laboring class by far the largest and toughest, the most industrious and economical to be found on the globe—surely here is the stage and here are the actors for one of the greatest dramas of history.

This background of the mass of China has far more meaning, however, when we add to it the fact that since the outbreak against foreigners in the Boxer Revolution in 1901, there has developed in seventeen years a reversal of national feeling, an openness to Western influence, such as can hardly be matched in all history. The land where once all life had crystallized into unchangeable molds has suddenly become fluid, plastic, seeking new molds from the Western world. . . .

Perhaps the most astounding feature of China's awaking is the moral advance, strikingly illustrated by the war on opium begun in the edict of the Empress Dowager in 1906. Thirty years ago the majority of the people in Europe and America would have as soon thought of gravitation being abolished as of opium-smoking being abolished by China. E. A. Ross calls the warfare on opium which China conducted for ten years 'the most extensive warfare on a vicious private habit that the world has ever known.' . . .

China has embarked on the most stupendous educational task ever attempted. It involves the provision of a million

schools to furnish instruction for the children of school age. Only two per cent of the children are now being educated. Temples are being confiscated in many cities to accommodate schools and colleges. The number of modern government students in Peking in the decade from 1905 to 1915 rose from 300 to 17,000, and the pupils in the province surrounding from 2,000 to 200,000. The new system when completed will call for nearly a million teachers. . . .

Since the edict of 1905 abolishing the old system of education and substituting modern methods of instruction the old examination halls are crumbling into dust. And 'with them has crumbled, not only a kind of examination but an attitude toward life, a system of values, a standard of character. The passing of China's old education is the transformation of her life. Now the student who would win governmental positions must answer questions in European history, in economics, in social science; and the old Chinese officials, with their huge goggles, their embroidered coats, their clinging to the far past, have gone into hiding, never to emerge.'"—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 65, 66; 67, 68; 73, 74; 69, 70.

"If I were asked: How long do you expect that China can have an ideal government which is of the people, by the people, for the people? my answer would be, I don't know. If I compare conditions in China with what is necessary to make a strong, real republican government, I see that we have not yet an ideal government. The mass of the people in China are ignorant and it is very hard to make a government of the people, by the people. Through their long history the Chinese have been indifferent to political affairs; that is another difficulty. Last of all, the Chinese people are poor; as Dr. Eliot said, they are too poor to be good. Oh, poor China, poor China! Could it stand without a government? I think not. May she be unfortunately governed by the Powers, or by one foreign Power? I hope not. . . .

But to carry out these things we need leaders—unselfish, true leaders. We have to thank the Americans who have been helping us to train our young men. About a thousand Chinese students have returned from this country and are working in China, and there are fourteen hundred now studying in this country. I hope that you people will give them the inspiration to make them true, unselfish leaders, in order to solve these great problems for China, for their country, for this world."—"The Struggle for Democracy in China," an address by Prof. Chang Po-ling, January 14, 1918.

¹ W. H. P. Faunce, "Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," p. 73.

A New India

"Four very significant effects of the War are felt in India, all of them presenting an opportunity to the Christian Church.

1. A smashing blow is being delivered to the caste system. Probably 300,000 troops have crossed the sea from India and by so doing have broken caste; and in order to be reinstated into caste these men must go through a very contemptible ceremony, which no self-respecting Hindu will submit to. It will be impossible for India to insist on that when these soldiers come back as victors from the great World War.

2. This conflict has had a mighty unifying power. We sometimes speak of India as a single country. As a matter of fact it is a continent, with many peoples, many languages, and three great organized systems of religion. The War is uniting India.

3. The new sense of loyalty has never before been so openly expressed. The natives of India have sworn their allegiance in blood in Flanders. They have floated a War Loan in India of \$500,000,000, twice their annual revenue.

4. An increasing degree of self-government is to be given to India. The official representation of India at the Imperial War Conference in March, 1917, and the expression of opinion by the conference that India should be fully represented at all future imperial conferences form a landmark in the history of the relations between India and the rest of the British Empire."—Adapted from discussion by Rev. H. F. Laflamme, of India.

"The busy whirl of factory wheels is mingling today with the sound of the temple bells. In a land which from time immemorial has been almost entirely agricultural, over 35,000,000 people are dependent on industrial occupations for a living."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," p. 94.

"The development of self-governing institutions in India will necessitate the complete reversal of the attitude of 315,000,000 people. The Indians have been accustomed throughout their history to autocratic forms of government: their social institutions, their teaching, their philosophy of life are all based upon the principle of authority and tradition. They have been bred to expect commands and authoritative decisions, and to lean upon precedent. They have been unaccustomed to think or act for themselves. If they are to be fitted for self-government, all this has to be changed—to be exactly reversed. Self-government in the political sphere will be of no avail unless social institutions also are permeated with the idea of freedom and responsibility, and social institutions will not be thus imbued unless the native disposition of the people has been changed in that direction. The great political change from the principle

of autocracy to the principle of democracy cannot be made unless the people make social changes also. Institutions, social and religious, which are based on Authority will have to be remodelled on a basis of Justice and Liberty. People instead of expecting their activities to be directed and imposed on them from above will have to depend upon the well-spring of activity which cometh from within."—Francis Younghusband, "Our Aim in India," in *The Nineteenth Century*, Feb., 1918.

The Inadequacy of the Oriental Religions

"The ancient scriptures of the Hindus, the Vedas, though containing considerable immoral material, upon the whole represent a philosophical idealism; but in practice Hinduism has become gross and sensuous idolatry. There are millions of gods in the Hindu Pantheon, and it makes little difference what god is worshiped so it is done correctly. Hinduism is the only religion in the world in which impurity has become fundamentally a part of its religious ceremonies. Krishna, an incarnation of Vishnu, and the god probably worshiped more than any other in India, is represented as falling in love with an endless succession of shepherd maidens and as having thousands of children; and pilgrimages are made by worshipers to the scenes of his lust.

In its outlook Hinduism is hopeless. What the Hindu has to look forward to is an almost endless series of transmigrations, during the weary course of which he shall be born into other forms, some higher, some lower, depending upon good deeds and bad deeds. The final goal is to drop into nothingness from which he came.

Hinduism has clamped on India the terrible system of caste which dooms a man to a certain station and a certain trade. A man of a caste is despised by those of higher caste; while he in turn holds all those below him in like contempt; and when it comes to the fifty million outcastes, the poor, miserable dregs of the population, even their touch is polluting."

"Buddhism originated in India in the life of Gautama Buddha, who for sixteen years as a mendicant beggar sought to find the philosophy of life. He reached the conviction that rest and peace could be secured only by self-mastery, by the suppression of our desires; and that salvation is literally self-conquest, coming solely by one's own efforts. For forty-five years he journeyed back and forth in Northern India, proclaiming his message and winning converts.

In practice, a religion so subtle and idealistic, with no place for worship, was doomed either to change or extinction. Change came. Buddha was made a god, and today Buddhism is one of the most idolatrous religions in the world.

Buddhism is practically extinct in India. It has, however, spread over the Orient, entering Ceylon, Burma, Siam, China, Korea, Mongolia, Tibet, and Japan. In China, Korea, and Japan it has been greatly changed because of the ancestor worship, but has supplied in those countries a certain spirituality in which the ethics of Confucius and the patriotism of Shintoism were lacking. Buddhism promised to deliver men from ill and from the pains of hell, and furnished the basis for the propitiation of evil influences. The sad fact about Buddhism is that, despite the life and character of its founder, it has become gross, superstitious idolatry and in no country has rooted out the spirit worship of the animism which preceded it."

"The practical turn of the Chinese mind leads that people to look upon religion as 'a means of securing material blessings and of averting physical disasters and inconveniences. At the basis of all Chinese religion is a fundamental spirit worship. The Chinese man lives in dread of smallpox, famine, fires, and floods.' When he starts on a journey, when he builds a house, when he marries a wife, when he buries the dead, in every aspect of life he takes care to propitiate the spirits. Ancestor worship has become fundamentally the propitiation of the spirits of the departed, so they will not bring disaster or disease.

Confucianism is really not a religion. Confucius gave China its ethical code, its emphasis upon relationships, particularly upon loyalty to allies and to ancestors. It had much to do with both the stability and the conservatism of China. In practice Confucianism has become a state religion and is closely associated with the worship of the ancestral tablets. Laoicius, the founder of the other great religion of China, was a dreamer who set forth the doctrine of Tao, or the way. In practice Taoism has become sheer idolatry.

As already indicated, Buddhism was introduced from India and became one of the three great religions of China. These three religions supplement one another. 'They answer to varying moods of the Chinese soul. Taoism deals with the fear and superstitions of the present life; Buddhism with death and what is beyond death; while Confucianism as enunciated by the sages furnishes the rule of everyday life. All Chinese are Taoists, Buddhists, and Confucianists as occasion demands—they are not mutually exclusive.'

While China must embody in her new democracy the true parts of the Confucian ethics, there is no hope of spirit worship and the gross idolatry of Buddhism and Taoism forming the moral dynamic for the new day. Yuan Shih-kai, in a conversation with Dr. John R. Mott, said he saw this great difference between Christianity and Confucianism; that while in

China they had splendid ideals, Christianity was unique in that it possessed the power which made it possible for men to accomplish what the religion laid down as a duty."

"Shintoism, the original religion of Japan, is the embodiment of the spirit of patriotism and of loyalty to the reigning house. 'Fear the gods and obey the emperor' is its essence. 'Shinto expresses the confidence of the Japanese people that there is something more than their present strength and wisdom which directs and aids, and on which they may rely.' In the sixth century a new religion and a new morality were introduced from China. Buddhism became the prevailing religion of Japan and Confucianism the ethical code. Many divinities were introduced and a paradise promised. Through Buddhism, Confucianism was transformed by the substitution of the state for the family as the badge of devotion.

With the coming of Western education, the old morality based on old beliefs began to lose its hold. The result is confusion, uncertainty, and anxiety. 'Japan is a nation like a ship at sea, not knowing its bearing, without a rudder. Desperate attempts are being made to inculcate moral principles but with little effect. No nation in the world is in a more dangerous situation concerning the deeper things of life than Japan.' . . . President Harada, of Doshisha University, declares that in a sense not true of the old faiths, Christianity has power to satisfy the deepest needs of the heart. It does this by presenting God as a Father, by exhibiting the personality of Jesus, by presenting a positive view of life, by giving a comparatively satisfactory world view and by producing examples of a transformed life. In all these respects the religions of Japan have failed."—Adapted with some additional material from Soper, "The Faiths of Mankind."

Conditions for a Safe Democracy

"We are bound to consider what are the conditions that will make democratic principles safe in Asia. One has not to look farther than to our neighbor, Mexico, to see how the weakness of a weak nation may threaten the well-being and practically the peace of even her strongest neighbor. China affords another illustration. Japan claims, and with justice, that the disorganization of China is a menace to the security of her Empire. She does not, perhaps, realize so clearly that the instability of the Chinese Republic is a very disturbing factor in the American experiment in the Philippines. The United States has dared to lift a small, weak, and neglected race of people almost to the point of self-government. The experiment gives promise of success, but that success is dependent, not

only on the peace of the Orient, but also on the safety of the Orient for democracy.

If the world is to become safe for democracy, we must look forward to the time not only when every nation is safeguarded from invasion and defeat, but also to the time when each nation, however weak it may be now, shall be strong enough to order its own affairs, maintaining for itself justice and liberty. Until that day shall come in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, and many parts of Europe, the world cannot be safe for democracy."—Tyler Dennett, "The Democratic Movement in Asia."

The Melting Pot of the War

"Three fourths of the non-Christian populations of the world are thrown together into the melting pot of the War, and most of the Christian peoples of the world are there with them. China, India, Japan, Egypt—each of the great non-Christian nations is conscious of the touch of the other nations in the War. It is a new sort of international contact, this grouping of all nationalities into those who fight with you and those who fight against you, but it is having its effects.

Here is a man who went out from India to fight in Europe. Never before did he have any interest outside of his own little section of India, and he carries with him a full set of prejudices and traditional customs. In the very crossing of the 'dark water' he broke caste rules. At Gallipoli he found himself a brother-in-arms of Australians and French, and in France he has fought side by side with British, Senegalese, Canadians, and Belgians. He is no longer a denizen of a hamlet in South India, he is a citizen of the world. It is a hard body blow that the War is dealing to the caste system of India and to other institutions and ideas that belong to the order that is now passing.

As custom loses its hold on the life of the non-Christian nations and as their prejudices and self-sufficiencies fall away, we can see the door of opportunity swing more widely open to the entrance of the Christian message."—J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task."

CHAPTER VII

The Mohammedan Advance

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. ON WHAT GROUNDS DID GERMANY COUNT ON A UNION OF MOHAMMEDANS IN A HOLY WAR AGAINST THE ALLIES?

1. *If such had happened, how serious would it have been for the Allied cause?*
2. *How numerous and how strong are the Mohammedans under the Allied flag?*

II. WHAT EFFECT WOULD THE DOMINATION OF THE MOHAMMEDAN RELIGION HAVE UPON A WORLD SAFE FOR DEMOCRACY?

1. *How far are the Armenian atrocities an expression of Mohammedanism? How? How does Mohammedan teaching differ from the German philosophy of the super-state in its justification of atrocities?*
2. *What is the Mohammedan idea of God? Of heaven? How does the Mohammedan theology justify immorality?*
3. *What is the status of women in Mohammedan countries? What chance would there be for an American suffragist in a Mohammedan land?*
4. *Why has Mohammedanism been a check on progress? What relation has the Mohammedan religion to the social and political conditions in the Near East?*
5. *Why cannot Mohammedanism form the basis for a democracy? For safe international relations?*

III. HOW LARGE IS THE DANGER THAT MOHAMMEDANISM WILL DOMINATE AFRICA AND ASIA?

1. *Northern Africa is solidly Mohammedan. This was once the stronghold of Christianity. When and how did Mohammedanism conquer Christianity?*

2. *When and how did the Mohammedans attempt to conquer Europe? How was it stopped and where?*

3. *How strong is Mohammedanism in the land of Jesus' birth? In the countries covered by Bible history?*

4. *What progress has Mohammedanism made in Central and Southern Africa among native tribes? By what means?*

5. *How do the gains of Christianity among these native peoples in the past half century compare with the gains of Mohammedanism?*

6. *What progress has Mohammedanism made in India and China?*

7. *How does Moslem use of the sword and political power help and how does it hinder the progress of the Mohammedan religion?*

IV. WHAT EFFECT HAS THE GREAT WAR HAD UPON MOHAMMEDAN ADVANCE?

1. *Why did Moslems fail to unite in a holy war?*

2. *When Turkey loses in this war, what effect upon the political unity of Mohammedanism will it have?*

3. *How much influence has the loyalty of the Armenians in the face of martyrdom had upon Turkish Mohammedans?*

4. *What chance is there that Mohammedanism will become dominant in the Near East? In Africa? In China and India?*

V. WHERE CHRISTIANITY HAS BEEN EFFECTIVELY PROCLAIMED, WHAT EFFECT HAS IT HAD IN MOSLEM LANDS?

1. *What had Christian education to do with the Turkish revolution? Why was this revolution not successful?*

2. *How does the success of Christian missions among high-caste Hindus compare with its success among Mohammedans?*

3. *How difficult really is it to win a Mohammedan to loyalty to Jesus and His cause?*

4. *Compare the effects upon native people in Africa of Mohammedanism and Christianity. Some say Mohammedanism represents a less decided break with the old pagan customs and therefore forms a good half-way point between Christianity. Why has it been true in actual experience that Mohammedanism has hurt the native peoples and made them more difficult to win for Christianity?*

VI. COMPARE MOHAMMEDANISM AND CHRISTIANITY IN THEIR POSSIBILITIES AS THE RELIGIOUS BASIS FOR A WORLD DEMOCRACY.

1. *What difference does it make anyway whether we stop the Mohammedan advance?*

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The Mohammedan Menace and Opportunity

"The unity of the Mohammedan world has not disappeared in spite of this war. Pan-Islamism is dead, but Islam is not yet dead. For Europe Islam has become a national problem

and responsibility. There are 5,000,000 more Mohammedans under the British Union Jack than there are Christian subjects, 95,000,000 Mohammedans in all. Little Holland has 35,000,000 Moslem subjects; France has 20,000,000; Russia, 20,000,000; Italy, 1,500,000 in Tripoli; Germany, 1,500,000 in Africa. Even those Europeans who do not believe in Christ or in the blessings of Christianity would find it difficult to prove that the national governments are not responsible for the economic development, the social well-being, the intellectual uplift and enlightenment of the millions of Mohammedans who have never had a chance. In Egypt, for example, only three out of a thousand Mohammedan women can read and write. Is not Great Britain responsible to God for the education of Egypt's womanhood?

This question concerns Americans also most deeply. . . . The Moslem population of the Philippine Islands in Mindanao and the Sulu group is 276,000 in one small area. Is there that number of unevangelized American negroes, or Indians, or mountaineers, or immigrants in any one of our cities, massed together as these Moslems are massed in the Philippine Islands? Ex-President Taft said recently in Carnegie Hall that there was no chance whatever to teach these American Mohammedans the principles of democracy until they had learned the principles of Christianity. . . .

But the question concerns us . . . also on the simple basis of our common humanity . . . on the basis of the social problem, the condition of Mohammedan childhood, the condition of Mohammedan womanhood, the unutterable degradation of Mohammedan manhood. . . .

There is no place under the American flag where polygamy and slavery dare lift their heads in open daylight save in the Philippine Islands. The Mohammedans of China are on a lower scale socially than the Confucianists who have never known the living God. Women under the religion of Buddha enjoy a life far superior to those Moslem sisters who are the followers of Mohammed. Khadija, in the days of ignorance, when Mohammed himself did not acknowledge the true God, but worshiped all the idols of the Kaaba, Khadija had a happier life than Mohammed's harem of twelve women had when he proclaimed himself the prophet of the Everlasting God. On the social basis alone this problem should grip us until wrong is made right, and womanhood is delivered, and childhood has its opportunity. . . .

The present war presents a new world situation . . . Pan-Islamism is dead. Ten years ago, the German traveler, Karl Peters, utterly unconscious that he was a prophet and not a so-called diplomat, wrote in the *Fortnightly Review* concern-

ing the hostility between France and Germany and England: 'If German policy is bold enough, she will be able, at any rate through Pan-Islamism, to fashion the dynamite which will blow up British rule and French rule from Morocco to Calcutta.' . . .

But Mohammedans considered their economic interests, their social interests, their commercial interests, as well as their religious fanaticism; and the dynamite, except in Persia and in Turkey, did not explode. . . .

Never again will statesmen or politicians or demagogues frighten us by the cry of Pan-Islamism, of two hundred million Mohammedans throwing themselves upon Christendom and proclaiming a Holy War. This means that our fellow missionaries in India and in Egypt and in Southern Persia and in the whole coast of the Barbary States can preach the Gospel just as freely, or even more freely, than they proclaimed the Gospel before the war; that our hospitals are just as crowded as they were before the proclamation of the *Jihad*; that, in spite of all that was done in Egypt, the American Girls' School is crowded with Mohammedan pupils, and Assiut College has as many Mohammedans as it ever had. Pan-Islamism is dead. . . .

In this crisis, we face the future of the Turkish Empire and of Arabia. It is easy to show hatred instead of love, to show vengeance instead of forgiveness. But that is not the way the Master went. Can we still love Turkey? Can we still love the Ottoman Turks? . . .

The crisis is upon us. The doors are wide open, and after the war, not only will Arabia be freed, but the whole Turkish Empire will be an open door for opportunity for the proclamation of the living Gospel to those who have never seen or felt its power."—S. M. Zwemer, "The Future of the Moslem," in *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 39, pp. 24-30.

"Islam is in a serious plight. She is tied fast to an obsolete theory of the universe, to religious customs and teachings which refuse to fit into the modern view of the world, to a book whose claims to originality cannot be substantiated, and to a character, the great prophet himself, who was only a man and whose deeds and ideals cannot be defended in a world of growing moral convictions. Add to this the presence of slavery and the sanction of polygamy and almost unlimited divorce, which still obtain in all Moslem communities, and the burden must prove unbearable. Think of the indictment against Mohammed, who, because of his ungovernable jealousy, caused his own and all wives in Islam to be secluded in their own homes and behind a veil when they appeared on the streets. Women in Islam must live in another world from the men. All advantages are denied them; they live for their husbands and have little or no

value as human beings fit for noble lives and companionships.”
—Soper, “The Faiths of Mankind,” pp. 137, 138.

Conflict of Islam with Christianity

“For thirteen centuries Christendom and Islam have been in conflict. Not only has the Christian faith during all that period won no considerable success among Moslems, but it has suffered serious defeat. . . . All the western part of Asia owns allegiance to Islam. The land where Christianity had its birth, and the fields in which the missionary labors of St. Paul and the early Church first planted the Gospel are now under the sway of the one great religion of the world which, appearing six centuries after Christianity, definitely claims to supersede it. . . . Syria, Asia Minor, and North Africa, which were the scene of the earliest Christian triumphs, and the home of many flourishing churches, have passed under the sway of Islam.

From its home in Western Asia Islam has firmly established itself in the countries of North Africa which border on the Mediterranean. Helped by the opening up of the African continent, it is rapidly spreading through a large part of that vast area. It has extended eastwards and claims in India 66,000,000 adherents, and in China about 8,000,000, while of the 38,000,000 inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, 35,000,000 are Mohammedans. . . .

According to a careful estimate made in 1912, the total number of Moslems was a little over 200,000,000, and of these eighty-three per cent were under the rule or protection of Christian Powers. . . .

The number of Christians who have gone over to Islam far exceeds that of the converts from Islam to Christianity. Christendom as a whole has come to doubt the possibility of evangelizing the Moslem world. The opposition of Moslems is known to be so fierce and obstinate that it seems a hopeless task to overcome it. At the present day among primitive peoples, and especially in the continent of Africa, Islam is advancing with rapid strides, and it seems not improbable that the subjection of the peoples of Africa to the rule of Christian Powers may have the remarkable consequence of accelerating their conversion to Islam.

The impression that missionary work among Moslems is fruitless is contradicted by the facts of experience. If regard is had to the peculiar difficulties to be overcome, and to the smallness of the effort that has been made, the results are far from discouraging. More than 35,000 converts have been won from Mohammedanism in the Dutch East Indies. In British India the number of converts has been considerable, and not a few of them have been men of education and influence. Before

the war broke out missionary reports from most of the Moslem countries in the Near East told of a new openness of mind and readiness to consider the claims of the Gospel. The solvent of western education, and of political and economic changes, has created new conditions, and the day of real opportunity has only now dawned. . . .

But while we thankfully recognize that in proportion to the effort put forth the results have not been disappointing, it would be folly to shut our eyes to the magnitude and difficulty of the task that has yet to be undertaken. Centuries of conflict, political and theological, have raised a seemingly insurmountable barrier between Moslem and Christian. Deep-rooted prejudices bar the way to any understanding. The missionary comes to Moslems as the representative of a religious system and a civilization which all their traditions lead them to despise and hate. The political and economic pressure of Europe during the past century has aroused in Moslems every instinct of self-defence. Before the Gospel can gain a hearing this wall of prejudice must somehow be broken down. Of missions to Moslems it is preeminently true that if the Gospel is to be effectively preached, it must be proclaimed in deed as well as in word. There must be some conspicuous demonstration of the true spirit of Christianity. To Moslems Christians are the enemy. They must somehow be convinced that Christians are their friends. For this reason medical missions have a special importance among Moslem peoples; they are a striking manifestation of Christian love. Schools and colleges are another valuable means of removing prejudice and gaining access to the hearts of the people. The circulation of Christian literature and of general literature of an enlightening nature is a form of work which needs to be strongly developed. Few things would do more to persuade Moslems that Christians sincerely desire their good than well-directed efforts to promote their material well-being and to help them to solve the economic problems with which they are confronted. These things are not a substitute for the simple preaching of the Gospel, but in the existing social and historical context the real content and meaning of the Gospel can only be made known by being manifested in some form of disinterested practical service, which even the prejudiced will recognize to be an expression of love."—J. H. Oldham, "The World and the Gospel," pp. 110; 108; 110; 108; 109; 110, 111; 116, 117.

The Mohammedan Advance in Africa

"I want to repeat the saying with which you are all familiar, 'Every Mohammedan trader is a Mohammedan propagandist.' . . . It has been said (and it is true) that for every Christian

convert our missionaries make in Central Africa, the Mohammedans make ten. . . .

In connection with the survey of Africa, it was said, at the Edinburgh Conference, 'If we would prevent the extension of the reign of Islam in the south, we must undermine its foundations in the north.' And again, 'We have not only to stay the advance of Islam in Africa; we have to win the Moslem world in Africa for Christ. Its gates are opening for the Gospel, though the entrances are narrow, and to be used with wisdom and care, lest they be forcibly closed again. But every foothold won by Christian missions means a growing opportunity. And until,' mark these words, 'until the foundations of Islam in the north are shaken and removed the Christianity which may be established in Central Africa will be perpetually exposed to its assaults.'

And there is no adequate realization of the seriousness of the peril. The Church at home has not yet realized how much greater is the problem of evangelization when Islam has once entered in, how much easier it is to stem the tide than to win back the territory that has been lost, how for every single year required to evangelize a pagan tribe we must invest ten to reconquer from Islam the territory that so easily might have been ours, if we had only been on time."—Karl Kumm, Ph.D., "Stemming the Mohammedan Tide" in "The Christian Occupation of Africa," pp. 117, 119-120.

The Influence of the War on Mohammedanism

"The general war has broken up the solidarity of Islam, shattered its boasted unity, and destroyed its hope of final physical triumph over Christianity and the other great religions. The Mohammedans, wherever found, have lost much of their power and moral resistance, while their hearts have been made sad and tender by the sense of a disappointed hope and faith in a religion that has failed them. The door of approach to the Mohammedans is beginning to open. Will the Church of Christ be ready to enter?"—James L. Barton.

"One of the greatest results of the war will undoubtedly be the influence on the Mohammedan world. Mohammedan soldiers from India and North Africa who return home from Europe must be very different in their ideas and habits from their comrades who have never been away from home.

The students of the history of Islam are generally agreed that the war will produce the disintegration of Moslem power and prestige. Many new doors will be opened to Christian missionaries in Moslem lands. The Christian Church must be ready to advance."

CHAPTER VIII

Land, Labor, and Religion in the New Africa

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. HOW DOES AFRICA COMPARE WITH THE OTHER CONTINENTS?

1. *Note quickly the size and population, natural resources, agricultural possibilities, water power, etc., of the continent of Africa. Compare it with the United States, with Japan, in these particulars.*

2. *Into what three sections does Africa naturally divide? What are the races, religions, and the comparative resources and possibilities of each?*

II. WHAT IS THE HISTORY OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF AFRICA?

1. *Why has it been called the dark continent?*
2. *Note the extent and significance of Livingstone's work.*
3. *When was the exploration of Africa completed?*
4. *The division of Africa.*

a. *When and why was Africa divided among the powers?*

b. *What have been the good effects of this division of Africa?*

c. *What new problems and difficulties has it brought?*

III. WHAT ARE THE CHIEF PROBLEMS IN MAKING THE NEW AFRICA?

1. *The land problem.*

a. Compare the problem in the distribution of land in Africa with that faced in America with the Indians.

b. Note the two attitudes taken, one that the African has no right to the land because he will not develop it; the other that his rights must be thoroughly guarded, even at the expense of agricultural development. What is to be said for each? If the native of Africa is made economically dependent by the seizure of his land, how will the problems before us in Africa differ from those in Ireland? Russia? Feudal days in Europe? What hope is there that the native African can be given his right to the land and still insure the development of the natural resources of the continent?

2. *Labor exploitation.*

a. Why is the labor supply so short in Africa?

b. Compare the incentives to work in a temperate zone with higher developed standards of living, with those in a tropical country with lower standards of living.

c. What methods have been used to induce the native peoples in Africa to work? Compare the effectiveness and possibilities of compulsory work with the creation of new wants through higher standards of living.

d. Why has slavery been so earnestly opposed in Africa by liberals and humanitarians? How is compulsory work on government or state enterprises justified? How is compulsory work on private enterprises for private property different from slavery? How much of this is there in Africa? What effect does it have upon the native people?

e. How can we prevent the labor exploitation of the native African people?

3. *Demoralizing influences of civilization.*

a. What effect does the introduction of civilization among the native people tend to have upon the death rate and the spread of disease? The amount of immorality? Why?

b. How much of a check are the native religions and "taboos" on immorality? When these superstitious checks are removed by the introduction of western ideas, what can be done to supply an equally strong motive for morality?

c. How can the evil effects of the contact of western civilization with the native people of Africa be mitigated? What difference does it make whether they are prevented?

4. *The native religions.*

a. How does the spirit worship in Africa differ from that in China? Just what power have the witch doctors? What is the essence of the native religion?

b. What effect does the introduction of western ideas have upon the native superstitions?

5. *The Mohammedan advance in native Africa.*

a. Review quickly the Mohammedan advance as affecting the life of the native peoples in Africa. (See Chapter VII.)

b. Should those interested in Africa seek to prevent the Mohammedan advance among the native people? Why or why not?

IV. WHAT CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCES ARE AT WORK IN AFRICA?

1. *What has been accomplished by the representatives of foreign governments in*

a. Ending tribal warfare and slave raids?

b. Stopping the ravages of smallpox and sleeping sickness?

c. Stopping the superstitious practices and the control of the witch doctors?

d. Increasing material resources?

e. Establishing justice and stable government?

f. Spreading education?

2. *What has been accomplished by the missionary movement in developing Africa?*

a. What effect has the injustice of foreign governments and foreign representatives in land robbery and labor exploitation had upon the attitude of native people to the white man's religions? Why was Livingstone's work so effective?

b. Just how much effect have industrial and general missionary work had upon preparing the native Africans to make the most of the land and resources of the country? Just what possibilities are there of the Africans themselves developing the country?

c. How much effect have industrial and general missionary work had in giving the native people the incentive for industry?

d. How does missionary work help to offset the demoralizing effects of the introduction of western civilization?

e. What effect does Christianity have in abolishing superstitions and the control of the witch doctor?

f. How far can Christianity be said to supply the moral check which the native "taboos" have furnished against immorality?

g. What hope is there of repeating in other parts of Africa Mackay's achievements in Uganda?

V. HOW IS AFRICA INVOLVED IN THE AIMS OF THE WAR?

1. *What effect have the war and the training of the native soldiery had upon the possibilities of Africa?*

2. *How far can Wilson's principle for colonies be applied*

to native tribes in Africa? What do missionary results such as those achieved in Uganda show as to the possibilities of its adoption?

3. How should the interest of Christian nations in backward peoples, such as in native Africa, compare with their interest in more advanced civilizations, such as are found in China and Japan?

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Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," Chapter V, Flood Tide in the Destiny of Africa.

Soper, "The Faiths of Mankind," Chapter I, Where Fear Holds Sway.

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The Size and Significance of Africa

"The Next Tinder-box of the World"—such is the startling description which H. G. Wells gives of what Africa may become. The seeds of many of the international rivalries which bore fruit in the present conflict were in Africa. And if the nations of Europe in the years to come regard Africa as so much loot to be grabbed in a selfish and jealous spirit and exploited with no regard for the benefit of the people of Africa, they will lay up for themselves the certainty of future conflict. Because Africa is under the control of one or another of the European nations, it will be more vitally affected by the ultimate decision of the present war than any of the main geographical divisions of the earth save only Europe."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for Democracy," pp. 113, 114.

"Very few have any conception of the vast area of the continent. It is easy to say that it begins in the middle of the North Temperate Zone and extends southward 6,000 miles across the tropics to the middle of the South Temperate Zone; or to state that it is 5,000 miles from Cape Verde on the West to

Cape Guardafui on the East; or that there is plenty of room and to spare in its vast area for India and China, the United States, and all of Europe and that it could feed a thousand million people. How many realize that every degree of social order is found among its races and peoples, from the least favored pagan in his kraal, to the leaders in building colonial empires, including great cities and vast commercial enterprises?"—Bishop Hartzell.

"France has a colony in Africa twenty times the size of France itself. The British flag flies over a territory as large as the United States, and extends almost without interruption from the Cape to Cairo, a distance of 6,000 miles."—*The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 39, p. 449.

The Blessings of Foreign Rule

"Thanks to Fowell Buxton, Wilberforce, and other champions of African freedom, the commerce in slaves and ivory that so long dominated Africa has given place to an ever-increasing trade in diamonds, gold, copper, wool, cotton, feathers, hides, grains, rare woods, oils, domestic animals, etc. All this is having its effect on spreading the light, because the African, through incentives growing out of legitimate trade, is being delivered from the bondage of the corruption of idleness. Long ago Foxwell Buxton pointed out 'that the deliverance of Africa is to be effected by calling out her own resources.' It is the Bible of the plow that must regenerate Africa.' . . .

When all is said against the foreign domination of Africa there are but few well-informed people who would deny that for the most part foreign governments have increased the light in Africa. They have established stable rule; they restrain savagery; prevent inter-tribal wars; suppress witchcraft, infanticide, burial alive; promote education, industry, and hygienic conditions. Exploitation has given way to the development of the country, and of the native, both industrially and intellectually. For instance, 'starvation month,' a period of about two months annually preceding the new crop, is gradually being eliminated through the foresight and frugality of adequate provision for the entire year. . . . After all is said of all that science has done, through exploration, commerce, and government, in giving light to Africa, it yet remains true that real civilization cannot be developed in a people without vital Christianity."—Wilson S. Naylor, "Lightening the Dark Continent."

"Europe may well be proud of the intrepid and faithful government servants, who, in an exacting and often deadly climate,

under conditions that make the severest demands alike on a man's physical powers and on his moral fibre, with slender resources and little companionship, have quietly done their duty and brought about a marvelous transformation in the districts under their rule; of the students and scientists who have mastered the bewildering variety of African languages, patiently studied the habits and customs of the people, and overcome the physical obstacles which menaced life and prevented progress in many parts of the continent, laying down their lives in scores that the causes and remedies of fatal diseases might be discovered; and of the missionaries who have unselfishly devoted themselves to the education and moral and spiritual advancement of the peoples of Africa.

But all that has been done falls far short of what is required to discharge the responsibilities which Europe has assumed. . . . The relations of Europe with Africa are stained by the hideous wrong of the slave-trade; and, while the awakened conscience of mankind has practically put an end to this iniquitous traffic, the peoples of the continent are still exposed to the danger of pitiless exploitation by the white race."—J. H. Oldham, "The World and the Gospel," pp. 121, 122.

The Inhumanities of the Foreigners' Occupation

" . . . It is useless to close our eyes to the fact that an evil of fearful potentiality is being introduced and fostered all down the West Coast of Africa. . . . Over six and a half million gallons of spirituous liquor of European manufacture were imported last year into the British colonies of Sierra Leone, Nigeria, and the Gold Coast.

'Civilization,' too, has contributed to a decrease in the working population, but in a varying degree. All the Powers have sinned in this respect. I never read of punitive expeditions with 'many natives killed' without inwardly fuming at the folly of the administration which should know how precious, from an economic standpoint alone, is the life of a single native. Yet in some places the tribes are hustled, tormented, and even butchered in a manner little realized as yet by the European public. Think of the loss of life by violent death in both Belgian and French Congo, and in German West Africa! Think of the countless thousands of bleaching bones scattered over the highways through Portuguese Angola!

It is a haunting thought that since the '85' scramble for Africa, the civilized Powers who rearranged the map of the African continent, ostensibly in the interests and for the well-being of the natives, have passively allowed the premature destruction of not less than ten millions of people. Now these Powers complain bitterly that they are short of labor and

jump at any expedient which presents itself to obtain labor for their hustling developments."—John H. Harris, "Dawn in Darkest Africa," pp. 101, 102, 133-135.

The New Day in Africa

"The British Government has had no difficulty in compiling, through a Minister of the South African Union, a long report on German brutality in the administration of German Africa. The Herero war is the greatest blot on the recent colonial record of any nation, and the Germans know it. A great amount of material upon colonial atrocities in German Southwest Africa, German East Africa, and Kamerun can be compiled from German sources; for they have not failed to evoke protests at home. . . .

But we must not forget that as regards their African record too many nations live in glass houses. . . .

The French have been highly successful in North Africa, though De Brazza concluded his official investigation of the Congo with the remark that the native sufferings made him wish the French had never entered it. But the general darkness of the African story cannot be disguised. Gibbons spoke of the English as showing the truest humanitarianism. Their latest indictment was preceded by an even fiercer one of Leopold's administration of the Congo; and for years Sir Edward Grey refused to recognize Belgium's annexation of the region till reforms were effected. We should remember the revelation by Englishmen of the inhuman treatment of the blacks of Angola, San Thome, and Principe by Portugal, and Sir Edward Grey's firm insistence on stopping it. The British Anti-Slavery Society, now agitating for the release of slaves in German East Africa, has had much to condemn under almost every flag in Africa. Even England herself has had African blots upon her 'scutcheon.

We all hope that new ideals of humanity, a new respect for the rights of weak peoples, will be one of the war's fruits. We cannot afford to fight for justice, tolerance, and democratic idealism in Europe, but not in the great Continent hitherto given over largely to grab-bag exploitation. The nations must see to it that Africa is not a field for the shady administrator or adventurer, as the German colonies and Leopold's Congo in part were; and that respect for black life and limb must be as great as for white. What territorial changes in Africa peace will bring we cannot foresee. Whatever they are, Africa will be one of the touchstones to test whether the world is actually regenerated."—Editorial *N. Y. Evening Post*, September 17, 1918.

Who Shall Own the Land?

"The two fundamental questions in the administration of tropical Africa are the ownership of the land and the employment of labor. The great issue at stake is whether the country is to be administered in the interests of the governed or of the ruling race. The sole hope of a happy issue of the vast experiment on which Europe has embarked in Africa is that an enlightened public opinion should take a firm hold of the principle that the determining consideration in policy must be the welfare of the governed and not the selfish advantage of those who bear rule, and should insist on this principle being carried out in practice. . . .

The pressure of an expanding white population where climatic conditions are favorable, and in the rest of the continent the desire of commercial gain, constantly threaten to dispossess the natives of their rights in the land. At the present time a case of far-reaching importance is being tried before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, in which the British South Africa Company claims the whole of the unalienated lands of Southern Rhodesia, amounting to 75,000,000 acres, as the property of its shareholders. The disregard of native rights is often boldly justified on the ground that human progress demands that the weaker should give place to those who can more successfully develop the material resources of the country.

The Congo Free State, by various acts, appropriated all vacant land, that is to say, all land except the small plots on which towns and villages were built; and at a later date an act was passed appropriating all the products of the soil. It was possible in the year 1903 for the Belgian Prime Minister to declare in Parliament, 'the natives are not entitled to anything; what is given them is a pure gratuity.' . . .

The modern development of large companies and syndicates which has done so much to dehumanize trade relationships in the West, and to substitute for personal transactions between individuals the working of a relentless machine concerned solely with the production of dividends, is exerting its baleful influence in Africa. Mr. J. H. Harris has called attention to the menace of 'the highly organized syndicate, which possesses neither heart nor conscience, and is generally strong enough in influence at home and power abroad to menace any administration, and, if necessary, to threaten the various governments in two, three, and even more countries at one time.'"
—J. H. Oldham, "The World and the Gospel," pp. 123, 124, 125.

"Throughout the colonial world, there is no more striking contrast between a landed and a landless native community than

the British Gold Coast colony and the neighboring Portuguese colony of San Thome. In both territories cocoa flourishes, both produce excellent cocoa, in both nature is very kind, but while the one will march on conquering the cocoa markets of the world, the other is doomed to ultimate disaster.

The San Thome cocoa producer is only a laborer—in fact a slave—and he is perishing at such a rate that the depleted ranks must be filled from outside sources to the number of 3,000 to 4,000 laborers every year. This constant inflow of labor cannot continue indefinitely, even if European sentiment permitted—which it will not—the revolting concomitants by which this labor has been maintained. The economic future of these colonies from which the supplies are drawn will soon forbid the migration which at present is necessary to the island of San Thome. The population of the Gold Coast, on the other hand, happy in the enjoyment, in the main, of its own lands, reproduces and to some extent even increases itself every year. The native occupies his rightful place as producer, while the white man finds his true sphere, first as the inspirer of native efforts to place on the market cocoa of increasingly good quality, secondly as the medium by which the cocoa producer is conveyed to the manufacturer, and thirdly that by which surplus European manufactures are brought to the door of the native in exchange for his products.”—John H. Harris, “Dawn in Darkest Africa.”

The Exploitation of Labor

“Next to the question of the land comes that of the supply of labor. There are few of the European colonies in Africa in which the insufficiency of labor does not constitute a difficulty. The problem has been created in no small degree by the folly and wickedness of the white man. Mr. Harris estimates that since the partition which began in 1884 the civilized Powers ‘have passively allowed the premature destruction of not less than ten millions of people.’ The causes of this depopulation are various. The inhuman treatment of the natives in the Congo with the consequent devastating wars is responsible for the destruction of millions. The system of slavery in the Portuguese colonies has taken, and is still taking, a heavy toll of victims, and has spread desolation far and wide. The increased facilities of communication resulting from European occupation have permitted a scourge like sleeping-sickness to spread throughout a large part of the continent. Deadly diseases have been introduced by the white man and have wrought terrible havoc. The vices of western civilization have been quickly learned by the natives, and have borne immediate fruit in a decrease in the birth-rate and serious physical degeneration.

In some parts of the continent tribes are rapidly dying out, and the decrease of population is such as to cause very grave concern.

As soon, however, as forced labor is employed for any other purpose than to meet urgent public needs, and is made available for private undertakings, the practice becomes indistinguishable from slavery. . . .

The cocoa industry in the Portuguese islands of San Thome and Principe, as is well-known, has been carried on by what is practically slave labor. In other European colonies forced labor has been used to assist private undertakings, and everywhere the pressure of circumstances is such that the danger can be guarded against only by continual vigilance on the part of the administration supported by an alert and well-informed public opinion. It is not long since the planters in British East Africa petitioned the Government to adopt measures to compel the natives in the reserves to work for the white man." —J. H. Oldham, "The World and the Gospel," pp. 126, 127, 128, 129.

The Old Taboos and a New Morality

"A new spiritual basis has to be provided for the life of the people. A moral responsibility rests upon Europe patiently to rebuild the social fabric which its violent intrusion has destroyed. The task must be begun from within. Only a new spiritual experience, a new conception of the meaning of life, can create new social forms and institutions within which the human spirit can healthily grow. This is the great work which Christian missions have to undertake. They alone can accomplish it. Nowhere has this been shown more conclusively than in some parts of West Africa, where the law failed to abolish twin murder and other evils, and Christian missions came in and changed the spirit of the people. Religion is the one force capable of achieving the necessary transformation. This truth is recognized by those who have taken the trouble to investigate the facts, even though they may have approached the question without any initial prejudice in favor of Christian missions. Almost every government blue-book dealing with native affairs in South Africa published in recent years has borne emphatic testimony to the necessity of religious education for the African and the value of missionary effort.

Shall the African races be enabled to develop their latent powers, to cultivate their peculiar gifts, to create a characteristic life of their own, and so enrich the life of humanity by their distinctive contributions? Or shall they be depressed and degraded, and made the tool of others, the instrument of their gain, the victim of their greed and lust? The greatness of

the issue is well calculated to stir our noblest feelings and call forth what is best in us."—J. H. Oldham, "The World and the Gospel," pp. 132, 133, 137, 138.

The Opportunity in Africa

"1. This Conference would impress upon the Christian world and especially upon the Protestant churches of America the remarkable significance of the present moment in the history of African Missions, and the responsibility resting upon the Christian Church to provide *now* the resources of men and money, the strategy in the disposal of the Christian forces, and the outpouring of prayer that shall make it possible to use to the full the God-given opportunity to take Africa *now* for Christ; and the Conference points to the following facts as indicating the critical importance of immediate action:

a. The far-reaching psychological and spiritual effects of the war which is changing profoundly the mental horizon of every race and tribe in the African continent.

b. The political readjustments that must follow the war which will affect the destinies of Africa's peoples more profoundly than any political event since the Berlin Conference of 1883.

c. The Mohammedan menace, which threatens to become more serious as a religious propaganda as Mohammedan political power wanes.

d. The sudden impinging upon the native in many parts of the continent of a European civilization before whose moral temptations and economic pressure he must go down to racial ruin unless that civilization be interpreted to him in terms of its highest sanctions which are found only in the religion of Jesus Christ."—"The Christian Occupation of Africa," p. 179.

"The day has gone by when the world could dismiss Christian missions in West Africa with a contemptuous sneer, for Christian missionary effort with its eloquent facts, definitely established, can no longer be ignored. Of all the forces which have made for real progress in West Africa, Christianity stands some say first, others second, but none can place it last. To it belongs primarily in point of time at least, the economic prosperity of the Gold Coast. To it belongs, almost entirely, the credit for the native clerks and educated men on the coast. To it the natives owe their knowledge of useful crafts. To one section of the Christian Church at least belongs the honor of having on the spot saved the Congo natives from extirpation."—John H. Harris, "Dawn in Darkest Africa," p. 265.

CHAPTER IX

The Struggle for Freedom in Russia

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. HOW MUCH IS REALLY AT STAKE IN RUSSIA?

1. *How does Russia rank in its possibilities of influence in the new world?*

a. Compare the population and possibilities of Russia with those of China; of other European nations.

b. How about its natural resources?

c. What are the possibilities for expansion within Russian territory?

d. How strong really are the races which make up Russia?

2. *What significance has Russia for the new world?*

a. How did Russia before the revolution rank among the autocratic governments in strength and influence?

b. Just how significant for the new world will it be if a stable democratic form of government can be established?

II. WHAT HAVE BEEN THE ISSUES IN THE FIGHT BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND AUTOCRACY IN RUSSIA?

1. *Describe the condition of the serfs before their emancipation; also the character of the Russian autocracy.*

2. *How much effect had the reforms granted by Alex-*

ander II? Why were they granted? Appraise the real effect on the present situation in Russia of the emancipation of the serfs, the establishment of the provincial elective assemblies, the modernizing of the legal system, and the organization of at least some elementary and technical schools under the reforms of Alexander II. Why did he not give a constitutional government?

3. How did Alexander III increase the power of autocracy in Russia? To what extent did he do this as an expression of religion? How did his Prime Minister justify this increase of autocracy? What attempts were made at the "Russification" of the various nationalities? Appraise Alexander III's increase of autocracy in its effect upon the present situation in Russia.

4. What effect did the industrial revolution and the rise of the business and proletariat classes have upon the Russian situation?

5. Why did Nicholas II grant the Duma in 1906? How was he able to rob the Duma of its power?

6. What do you think of the suggestion that, if the Russo-Japanese War had continued, the revolution would have succeeded and a constitutional government been established at that time? What difference would such a result have made in the present situation?

7. What were the sources of strength of the autocracy in Russia?

a. In what way were the interests of the Bureaucracy the same as those of the Czar?

b. What relation did the Czar sustain to the Orthodox Church? Why would not a religious Russian peasant revolt against the "Little Father"?

c. How much effect did the ignorance and isolation of the peasants have?

d. What relation had the Cossacks and the police to the people? What was the source of the strength of this secret system?

e. How much were the people interested in other reforms except those in regard to the land?

f. What relation had the Russian autocracy to the Pan-Slav movement?

8. *What was the relation of the land problem in Russia to the revolution?*

a. Why did not the emancipation of the serfs secure more freedom and progress for the peasantry?

b. Just what is the actual condition of the average Russian peasant? In what regard was his condition better and in what regard worse than during the time of serfdom?

9. *What effect did the war have on the possibilities of revolution?*

a. What difference in the spirit of revolutionary ideas and the possibilities of a revolution had the withdrawal of the peasants from their isolated villages and their association with the proletariat in Russia's Army?

b. The Cossack troops, who had been at the command of the Czar, were largely killed in the war, and in their place were citizen soldiers, peasants, and workmen. What difference did this make in the possibility of the revolution?

10. *Review briefly the recent revolutionary activities in Russia.*

a. What are the three revolutionary parties (the Right Wing, the Left Wing, and the Middle), and for what do they stand?

b. Why did the Milukoff party fail to succeed?

c. Just how did the moderate revolutionists under Kerensky differ from the Milukoff party? Why did Kerensky fall?

d. Why were the Bolsheviki able to gain the power in Russia? Why did they make peace with Germany?

e. Why are the social revolutionists in Russia not interested in Pan-Slavism and expansion, and

supremely desirous for land distribution and internal reforms? Why did the land problem bulk so much larger in greater Russia than in the Ukraine?

f. Just what is the goal of the social revolutionists in Russia? What have the parties of the Right and Left Wing in common?

III. WHAT ARE THE ISSUES FOR THE FUTURE?

1. *What is the hope for a stable social democracy in Russia?*

2. *What influence and place should the Greek Church have in the new Russia? What hope of democratic control is there in the Greek Church?*

3. *What attitude toward Russia should those take who are hoping for a new world?*

4. *Just how much should the United States be willing to put in money into Russia for its rehabilitation and to make possible the solution of the land and other problems?*

5. *Specifically, what do you think should be the attitude of the Protestant Church toward Russia?*

6. *What is the opportunity of the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. in helping Russia?*

READING REFERENCES

"The New International Encyclopedia" and "Encyclopædia Britannica": Articles on Russia, particularly sections on size, people, natural resources, and modern history.

"War Encyclopedia." Articles on Russian Revolution, including overthrow of Czar, government of the Constitutional Democracy, rule of Kerensky, Bolsheviki in control; also article on Russia for size, population, etc.

E. A. Ross, "Russia in Upheaval." This is a vivid account of Professor Ross's experiences in Russia during 1917. It gives interesting insight into the Russian serfdom and autocracy, and the factors which have entered into the revolution.

Current Magazines: It is difficult to make selections in cur-

rent articles because the Russian situation is so uncertain. In general, the writers are divided between those who believe in the sincerity of the Bolsheviki, but that they have been betrayed by Germany; and those who believe the Bolsheviki themselves are traitors, who have betrayed their country for Germany's gold.

For article expressing belief in the sincerity of the Bolsheviki, see: "On Behalf of Russia—An Open Letter to America," by Arthur Ransome, correspondent in Russia for *London Daily News, New Republic*, July 27, 1918 (reprinted in pamphlet form, price, 3 cents).

For article condemning the Bolsheviki as paid German agents, see "The Red Freedom," by Herman Bernstein, Special Correspondent *New York Herald, Metropolitan Magazine*, September, 1918. Article also in *New York Herald*, Monday, June 24, 1918.

See also: "The Russian Revolution—An Interpretation," by Rose Strunsky, *Century Magazine*, June, 1918; "Soil and Soil Hunger," E. A. Ross, *Century*, 1918; "Russian Socialists and Their Leaders," *The Living Age*, June 2, 1917; "Russia, An Ever-Smouldering Vesuvius," *Literary Digest*, March 9th, 1918; *The World's Work*, October, 1918, given entirely to articles on Russia.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

The Russia of Yesterday and Tomorrow

"Russia is not, as generally conceived, a homogeneous Slav state. The race mixture within her borders is almost as remarkable as that to be found in Austria-Hungary. Of the 129,000,000 population of the Empire in 1897, but 92,000,000 were Slavs; 12,000,000 were Asiatic Tartars; 5,500,000 were Finns (akin to the Magyars of Hungary); 5,000,000 were Jews; 3,000,000 were of Latin and Germanic stock; and 3,000,000 Lithuanians. The race struggle differs from that of Austria-Hungary because the country is so thinly populated and there is little education or means of communication. Until recently there has been no representative government to express dissatisfaction. But in the crucial test of the Japanese war the people seized their chance to get concessions. . . .

Russia has now a population of about 170,000,000. At the present rate of increase there will be about 200,000,000 within

ten years. These 170,000,000 people live in a land nearly 9,000,000 square miles in extent, or almost three times as large as the United States. Of the population, about 15,000,000 are Mohammedans, Buddhists, or other non-Christians, about 5,000,000 are of the Jewish faith, and over 110,000,000 are of the various sects of the Christian religion. The great land in which these people live has nearly 2,000,000 square miles of forest, an area greater than half of Canada. The greatest system of waterways on the earth's surface furnishes at present the main trade channels of the empire. Six of these wonderful rivers alone have a total length of sixteen thousand miles. There are forty-five thousand miles of railway, or more than in any other country except the United States. . . .

There is one thing upon which there can be no difference of opinion, and that is as to the part Russia is to play in economic history in the near future. As a food-producing area the country will, as it develops, keep prices down to a reasonable level the world over. The wood of her forests will take the place of the lessening output elsewhere. As a market for products of the labor of all the Western nations, Russia stands supreme as the greatest potential buyer. The Russian peasant is a simple, honest, and industrious man, tremendous in his physique, virile in his stock, and peaceful in his life and intentions. The country itself is largely agricultural and will always remain so. Over ninety per cent of the population at the present time owes its living to the land.

Such a country as this has its destiny written clear in these days, when the struggle for bread in urban communities of the West dominates national policies through the vital shortages." —Stanley S. Sheip, "Handbook of The European War," pp. 157; 160, 161.

The German Propaganda in Russia

"For scores of miles behind the whole Russian front there were hundreds of German agents, speaking the Russian language, living the Russian life, talking with the families of the soldiers and saying to them, 'Why should we longer fight? Let us call our men back from the front. They are fighting not for Russia any longer but for "bourgeois" Allies.'

They said: 'We will not sacrifice to send any more food and soon the men will be starved from the trenches.'

Classes in Russian were conducted among the German soldiers just north of where we were. One day the German Ordnance Department shipped 8,000 Russian uniforms to be put on by these German soldiers who had now learned to speak the Russian tongue. The next night there were no Ger-

man shells to light up the desolate places on No Man's Land and these thousands of soldiers came over in the darkness to mingle with the Russian *tovarishi* when the morning dawned. These 'new recruits' fostered their spirit of dissension, talked of 'brotherhood' and 'peace making with the Germans.'

Then the Germans began dropping Russian news bulletins over our heads. These bulletins were printed in Vilna just back of the German lines. The dominant notes in these were always 'brotherhood' and 'peace.' These were the messages in their newspapers, on posters of many kinds, on post cards which they distributed, in stories which they rumored.

'Let peace and brotherhood come between the Russian and the Germans; let our capitalistic allies fight their own battles.' Thus did the Germans work.

It was good propaganda, all right, but all fundamentally based upon the *ideal* of 'peace' and 'brotherhood' among men. Any message, therefore, that America or the Allies carry to Russia must be on this same high plane of ideals."—Condensed from article by James Lewis, a former Y. M. C. A. Secretary in Russia.

What of the Future?

"Who can tell the truth about Russia at the present time, and who dares to prophesy the future? Two radically different interpretations are given of the present situation. One group has the conviction that the Bolsheviki are real patriots, who have been betrayed by the Prussian power, and that Lenine and Trotsky instead of being wild visionaries, if not paid German agents, had some chance of winning in their idealistic hopes, had not the Ukraine deserted Russia and made a separate peace. The other group are sure that the leaders of the Bolsheviki are under the direct pay of the German Government and have betrayed Russia for gain.

Whatever may be our interpretation of the situation, we cannot but look with dismay at the reign of terror in Russia at the present time. What might have been in 1906 the gradual introduction of a constitutional government and reforms, and what gave some hope even in 1917 of being an orderly though radical social transformation, has become, as the extreme revolutionary party has gained control, a wild reign of terror. . . .

The Dark Ages in Russia have existed up until the present time. The autocracy of Russia was blind, untouched by any reason whatever at times and securing few of the results desired. The old spirit of the Russian government is well exhibited by the system of exile to Siberia for even minor

political offenses, and the treatment of the Jews. In the words of Professor E. A. Ross, 'The government lit no lamps for the people, nor would it allow others to do so freely.' The workmen were held down with a hard cruelty long since abandoned in western Europe. One third of the agricultural land of Russia was in the hands of 110,000 nobles, out of a population of over 160,000,000. The whole social system was designed to concentrate the good things of life in the hands of the few at the top of the social pyramid and distribute all the burdens possible to the shoulders of the common people at the bottom. This oppressive result was secured by the cooperation of the absolute power of the autocracy, the subservient spirit of office holders, a captive church, 'safe' teaching in what schools there were, class distinctions in the law code, the tax system weighing heaviest on the poor, the police, and spies.

The result of these centuries of oppression has been that when the despotic yoke of the Tsar was overthrown, the people of Russia were entirely unprepared to maintain a secure democracy. The government kept the people in darkness, and now that the despotism is overthrown, the people do not understand the nature of liberty or the necessity of making adjustments by law. 'They are too ignorant to perceive the fallacies of agitators who urge them to take what they want now.' Eighty-three per cent of the population above nine years were reported illiterate in 1908, and this figure is still given even by Russian professors. It is not surprising that in its new found liberty Russia has been rearing 'and plunging like her own wild horses on the steppes. 'To look for a national consciousness,' says Prof. Ross, 'among people who have no mental image of Russia, never saw a map of the world, and could not locate their country on such a map, would be folly.' This unpreparedness for democracy has been a tragedy of the gravest sort in the present world struggle. It demonstrates the serious obstacles to world democracy which exist in the ignorance and moral weakness upon the part of multitudes who desire to participate in it. There can be no doubt of the truth of the forcible words of Bishop Bashford, 'Had Protestantism spent forty millions of dollars in missionary work in Russia during the last forty years, Russian democracy would stand the crisis firmly and would be worth forty billions of dollars in terminating the war.'

The eyes of the world are eagerly focused on Russia today. Vital questions press for an answer: How long will the present Bolsheviki government stand? What success will the allied nations have in saving Russia from complete domination by Germany? Can famine and disease, involving the lives of millions, be averted? But amid all the complex maze of pos-

sibilities, one thing stands out clearly. If Russia is ever to emerge out of her present upheaval as a safe, solvent, and just democracy, there must develop within it the forces which have made democracy free and safe anywhere—universal education, enlightenment, and vigorous moral and spiritual ideals.” —Taylor-Luccock, “The Christian Crusade for World Democracy,” pp. 163, 164, 165, 166.

CHAPTER X

Hindrances to the New World in the Far Places

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. HOW SERIOUS ARE THE LOSSES AND DESTRUCTION OF THE WAR IN THEIR EFFECT UPON THE BUILDING OF A NEW WORLD?

Think in terms of the loss to the world of man-power—great leaders in fact and in potentiality; the heavy financial burdens, leaving smaller surplus for constructive enterprises for world betterment, and the common good; and the destruction of food and other material resources, turning a world surplus into a world deficit.

II. HOW DOES THE SERIOUSNESS OF THE WORLD DEFICIT IN EUROPE AS THE RESULT OF THE WAR COMPARE WITH THE PERENNIAL DEFICIT IN THE NON-CHRISTIAN WORLD?

1. *Where is the greatest physical suffering and basic human need in the world today?*

2. *The deficit through death and disease.*

a. Compare the incapacity through wounds and death, and the death rate in the war in Europe, with the incapacity through disease and bad sanitary conditions and the death rate in peace times in Asia and Africa.

b. What are the chief causes of disease and death in non-Christian countries? How much of it is preventable? Consider preventable disease due to igno-

rance, superstition, lack of medical knowledge, bad sanitation, and neglect of children.

c. How serious in the world is this lowered efficiency and loss of population when there is a world deficit? Are there not plenty of people in the Orient and Africa anyway?

d. What attitude would the Christian evaluation of the individual lead one to take on this situation?

3. *The financial deficit.*

a. How does the poverty and financial need of Poland when despoiled by war compare with that of India, China, and Africa in its time of peace? Just how serious, really, is the poverty of these non-Christian lands?

b. Compare the loss by famine in India with the loss by massacre in Armenia.

c. In what ways does abject poverty hinder the growth of a new world?

4. *The social deficit.*

a. Just what are the most serious social drawbacks in the non-Christian world? Consider caste, status of women, labor exploitation, etc.

b. What effect have these upon the possibilities of democracy?

5. *The educational deficit.*

a. How does the importance of education compare in a democracy and an autocracy? In what ways does ignorance strengthen autocracy and undermine a democracy?

b. What effect did ignorance and superstition have in lengthening the life of the Russian autocracy? In keeping the Manchus on the throne? How large a factor has education been in the growth of democracy?

c. What is the situation in regard to education in Asia and Africa and South America?

6. *The moral and religious deficit.*

a. What forms of superstition are hindering the stability of democratic institutions?

b. Compare the graft and dishonesty in political life in Christian and non-Christian countries. What effects has it upon the possibilities of their government?

c. Why have the non-Christian advantages failed to furnish the moral basis for a new world?

d. In what ways has Hinduism been ineffective to meet this need in India; Confucianism to meet it in China and Shintoism to meet it in Japan?

e. Why has Christianity failed to be more potent?

f. What hope is there that Christianity can furnish the moral and religious foundation for a free world?

III. HOW MUCH HOPE IS THERE REALLY OF SAVING THE WASTE AND WRECKAGE OF THE WORLD?

How far is the missionary movement planned to alleviate basic human need?

READING REFERENCES

J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," Chapter IV, *The Call of the World's Present Need*.

W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," Chapter II, *Types of Social Order in the East and in the West*; Chapter III, *Projection of West into East*.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

The Educational Deficit

"The non-Christian world is ignorant and illiterate. It makes up the great bulk of the eighty per cent of humanity that can neither read nor write. Japan is now a literate nation, but of the other mission lands India would be a fair illustration to compare with Christian nations such as the United States.

According to the latest census reports, 94.1 per cent in India are illiterate, as against 6.5 per cent in the United States. In China an even larger percentage are illiterate. In Latin America the illiteracy ranges from forty per cent to over eighty per cent in the various republics. In Moslem lands, Dr. Zwemer estimates that with the exception of Turkey, from seventy-five to ninety per cent are not literate, while in pagan Africa, apart from the influence of the mission schools, the people do not even know that writing has ever been invented. Womanhood has been left in almost total ignorance."

The Financial Deficit

"Every non-Christian land is poor. A day laborer in India when work is to be had receives less than ten cents a day and the average yearly income per capita in the whole of India is under ten dollars. In China the unskilled laborer earns from ten to twenty cents per day. The average daily earnings of the Latin American peon amount to eighteen cents. The causes of widespread poverty in non-Christian lands vary somewhat in different countries. They include poor agricultural methods (while the populations depend mainly on agriculture), priestcraft, improvidence, and the prevalence of debt, caste, overcrowding, lack of industries, exploitation, land tenure, and hoarding. Famines, unknown in Christian lands, are common in non-Christian lands. It is safe to say that there is famine in some part of Asia all the time. Five millions perished in India during the famine of 1900."—J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," pp. 117, 105, 106.

The Physical Deficit

"The non-Christian world is helpless in the face of disease. It is a sick world. In India, where the British Government has attempted to relieve the situation by providing hospitals and medical aid and medical men, as many people as are in the United States are beyond the reach of even the simplest medical aid. A general estimate by careful students suggests that ninety out of every hundred of the inhabitants of non-Christian lands, especially outside the largest cities, have absolutely no access to medical treatment. The Rockefeller Foundation on Medical Work in China reports that 'the need for medical work is found to be greater than anticipated. Not only do the Chinese people lack almost all opportunity for medical treatment outside the relatively few centers where missionaries and hospitals have been established, but the development of modern conditions, the introduction of machinery, railways, etc., have resulted in an increase of suffering due to accidents and occu-

pational diseases.' In America there are 1,600 physicians to every 1,000,000 of population, while in China there is one physician to, roughly speaking, every million people.

And will not those whose true sympathy has led them to appreciate the wrongs and limitations suffered by women in civilized countries think too of the situation in non-Christian lands? Forty millions of women in India pass their lives in the enforced seclusion of the zenanas. Out of some 144,000,000 of Indian girls and women, less than 1,000,000 receive the barest rudiments of an education. When we consider that these secluded women can receive medical attention only from women, it is easy to understand the urgent call of the India National Missionary Conference for women physicians. Women are regarded in practice and theory, both in Japan and China, as constitutionally the inferior of men."—Harris-Robbins, "A Challenge to Life Service," p. 50-51.

The Moral Deficit

"The non-Christian world is in moral need. Here especially we must caution ourselves against any complacent attitude on the ground that we have recognized the lofty ethics of Jesus as our moral ideal. Let us humbly realize how far short we have fallen of attaining to it. We must bear in mind, too, the fact that the ethical standards of different mission lands vary greatly. But speaking generally, the non-Christian world is in need of a great elevation of moral ideals. Much of the need . . . is due to deficient moral standards. Truer conceptions of right and wrong for the individual and of the broader social requirements of morality would have obviated many of these evils. The pioneer missionaries, as they have entered each new field, have been depressed by the moral atmosphere into which they have come. They have met with many excellences and virtues, such as courtesy, hospitality, loyalty, filial devotion, and certain codes of honor to which the people adhered. But they have found dishonesty, graft, governmental corruption, thievery, polygamy, impurity, injustice, cruelty, tyranny, slavery, infanticide, murder, and cannibalism flourishing in their various communities with apparently little conscience against them. They have sometimes written home that they could bear loneliness and deprivation and hardship with glad hearts, but that to breathe the stifling foul air of sin day and night was almost beyond endurance."—J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," pp. 120, 121.

"Nearly a billion people have never heard of Christ—almost two thirds of the population of the globe. That means they stand entirely apart from the whole range of influences associ-

ated with Christianity, the sense of the value of personality and human rights which work so mightily as incentives to progress."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," p. 28.

Making Democracy Safe for the World

"But thoughtful men have come in increasing numbers to see that we have set our faces as a nation to a task which no military victory, however complete, can accomplish. The victory of arms which we pray and believe that God will bring to the allied nations will remove the hindrance to a world free for democracy which lies in an aggressive autocracy bent on conquest. But with that hindrance removed, no mass of armies can bring into being the inner mental and moral and spiritual forces which must be created if safe democracies are to exist and flourish on the earth. No merely military victory can protect the two-thirds of the world which lies distant from the battlefields from its internal weakness and disorder. No military victory can foster the intelligence and moral character which are the foundations of democracy. Only the emancipating, educating, and stabilizing forces of the Christian religion can do that. The task of the hour is one task. In it the two great passions of the human heart join and fuse—patriotism and religion.

On the patriotic side it is to rid the world of the menace of the rampant despotism of Germany and her allies; to free democracy from the material obstacle of aggressive autocracy.

On the religious side it may best be stated by the reversal of President Wilson's words, *to make democracy safe for the world*; to set at work those forces of education, moral control, and religion among the backward peoples of the world without which democracy is a destruction walking at noonday.

The thundering call to the Christian Church is plain—if *the world is one whole and a scourge in it cannot be quarantined, the cure for that scourge must not be*. No part of the world is safe till all is safe. Democracy cannot be safe anywhere until it is safe everywhere. Ignorance and darkness and vice and degradation can no more be quarantined than war. We cannot save the world by homeopathic portions of the Gospel, here a little and there a little. A united world demands of a world Church a world-program."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 21, 22; 18.

CHAPTER XI

Influences in the Far Places Making for Democracy

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHY DO THE DEMORALIZING AND DESTRUCTIVE INFLUENCES OF EUROPEAN AND AMERICAN COUNTRIES UPON BACKWARD NATIONS RECEIVE SO MUCH MORE ATTENTION THAN THE CONSTRUCTIVE AND HELPFUL INFLUENCES?

II. WHAT ARE THE INFLUENCES MAKING FOR DEMOCRACY IN FAR PLACES?

1. *The democratizing influence of trade and manufacturing.*

a. What has been the effect of American trade?

(1) What American products have received most use in remote regions?

(2) Just what and how much influence on the growth of a country, and the possibility of free government, have the sale of the following: kerosene oil, sewing machines, agricultural machinery, clocks, flour, talking machines? What effect has the substitution of a good kerosene lamp for a flickering peanut oil wick upon village life in China?

(3) How far have altruistic and how far selfish motives entered into the resourceful efforts

to secure introduction of these goods into backward nations? Why does not a commercial man think of the relation of his service to the making of a new world?

b. How much have representatives of foreign countries in trade and engineering helped?

(1) How about the influence of foreigners who have cooperated in the building of factories, opening of mines, building of railroads, etc?

(2) How much opportunity for influence upon movements for democracy have the consulting engineers in industrial and mining concerns?

c. What effect have native commercial leaders had upon democracy?

(1) Describe any modern factory welfare work you know. Where did these men get their idea?

(2) How about the democratizing effect of a modern factory in Asia or Africa?

2. The democratizing influence of consular and other representatives.

a. Look up the record of Chinese Gordon. How did he help forward the cause of liberty in China?

b. Review quickly the record of Sir Robert Hart in the custom service of China. How did he help free government?

c. What influence has a consular representative in helping forward democratic institutions?

d. Just how can business men in foreign ports hinder and how help the making of democracy?

3. The influence of teachers in government schools.

a. Review the American record of education in the Philippines. Just how much and what influence toward

the possibility of the freedom of the Philippines has this government education had? Why has it been so much more successful than the government education in India?

b. To what extent have men and women teachers of America been employed in government schools and colleges in China and Japan? How have they helped and how hindered the growth of democracy?

4. *The influence of returned students and travelers.*

a. How many Chinese students were in Japan previous to the Chinese Revolution? From how many provinces? Just how large a factor were these returned students in the Chinese Revolution?

b. How large a factor in the Russian Revolution were returned Socialists from America? Why have they misrepresented American democracy?

c. How many foreign students are in America? Just how powerful will their influence be upon their return?

5. *Democratizing influence of missionary work.*

a. How far does the interest of missionary work extend beyond the saving of the souls of heathen people? Just how far has the missionary movement given itself to the building of a new social order?

b. Review briefly the work of translation and creation of literature by missionaries.

(1) To how many races have the missionaries given their first written language? What effect has a written language on a heathen tribe?

(2) How do the number of translations of the Bible compare with those of other books? What part have the missionaries had in these translations? How much other literature has been translated and what has

been its significance in building a democracy?

- (3) Just what influence has this work of translation brought to bear toward democracy?

c. Why primarily have missionaries included education in their program?

- (1) How effective is missionary education in Turkey, India, China, and Japan?

- (2) What relation have Robert and the Syrian Protestant Colleges to the Balkan and Turkish situation? St. John's and other colleges in China to the new government? The missionary colleges in India to its nationalistic movements, and the possibility of an autonomous India? Education in Africa to the progress of native tribes?

- (3) Just what proportionate place have graduates of missionary schools taken in the establishment of free governments in these countries?

d. Why have missionaries included medical work in their programs?

- (1) What non-Christian countries have secured modern medical science without the help of the missionaries?

- (2) Review quickly the extent and the results of medical work.

- (3) In what ways does medical work help forward democratic institutions?

e. What place have industrial missions held in making free government possible?

- (1) What is the Indian idea about work?

- (2) What effect have industrial missionaries had in dignifying labor? In raising the submerged classes?

(3) What effect has missionary agricultural training had upon preventing famine? Raising the standards of living?

(4) Just what is the extent of the influence of the industrial missionary? What help are industrial missions in the building of free, self-sustaining governments?

f. How much attention have missionaries given to work for social reform in far places?

(1) Why should missionaries turn their attention from their primary purpose and give it to social reform?

(2) Appraise frankly and without prejudice the influence of the missionaries in the following reforms:

In India—The abolition of suttee; the freeing of the widows; the fight against obscenity.

In China—The fight against infanticide, foot-binding, gambling, and opium.

In Africa—The abolition of slavery and the attack on the witch doctor.

(3) What is the status of women under the Mohammedan, Buddhist, and Hindu teachings? What is their actual standing in India, China, and Japan? In what ways has missionary work affected the status of women? What influence has this upon the possibilities of democracy?

g. What relation has the mass movement in India to the possibilities of self-government?

h. How do the teachings of Jesus help the making of democracy?

(1) How revolutionary in the thought of India or China is Jesus' teaching in regard to the value of the individual, the fatherhood of

God, and the brotherhood of man? How does this affect caste in India? Labor exploitation in Africa? The hope for a new world?

- (2) Just how much real power have the new ideals and the Christian religion? How does it differ from the non-Christian religions in its moral dynamic?

III. WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THESE CONSTRUCTIVE INFLUENCES?

1. *What movements were there toward democracy in non-Christian countries before 1875? Up to 1900? Since 1900?*

2. *In what countries are there distinctive movements for democratic government today? How powerful are they and what hope is there of their success? What proportion of the Asiatic and African continents does this represent?*

3. *Just how much hope is there that democratic institutions will prevail in far places?*

4. *In helping forward the establishment of democracy in the world, how does the opportunity of the trader, the engineer, the teacher, the agriculturist, the doctor, the minister in Europe or America, compare with his opportunity in Asia or Africa?*

READING REFERENCES

W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," Chapters IV and V, Social Achievements of Missionaries; Chapter VI, The Enlarging Function of the Missionary.

Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy." The entire book is written from the viewpoint of the factors making for democracy in Asia, Africa, and South America, and contains valuable reference material.

J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," Chapter III, The Call of New Opportunities in the Mission Field.

Tyler Dennett, "The Democratic Movement in Asia."

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

A Christian Chinese Business House

"An illustration of Christian business progress is the Commercial Press, Ltd., of Shanghai, which was established in 1897 by three young Christian Chinese, two of them employes of the Presbyterian Mission Press. The demand for school books which came with the introduction of Western learning gave them their opportunity, and the Commercial Press forged to the front as producers of just what the new China was requiring. In 1906 the printers were incorporated as one of the earliest companies under the modern commercial law of China. The Christianity of the company is everywhere apparent. Spacious, well-ventilated workrooms present a marked contrast to the stuffy apartments in which the other printers of China must spend long hours. Clean and comfortable blocks of dwellings for rent at moderate prices have been erected especially for the employes. School privileges from kindergarten to high school are maintained for the children of the work people. A small hospital has been opened by the company for the employes, sick or injured. A work-day limited to nine hours, with a Sunday holiday, is a feature of this shop. The employes are well paid; a bonus in proportion to the record of their work is given, and a certain sum is set aside as a pension fund for retired workmen or their families."—*The Missionary Review of the World*, February, 1915, p. 145.

Government at Work

"It was a high ideal with which the United States started in the Philippines. In the words of President McKinley: 'The Philippines are ours, not to exploit but to develop, civilize, educate, and train in the science of self-government. This is the path of duty which we must follow or be recreant to a mighty trust committed to us.' We may well be proud that our nation has been true to that trust. We have given the Filipinos the best we have—science, education of the masses, intellectual and religious liberty, a just and liberal government in which they themselves have part. It is a record of progress 'unexampled in the contact of any Western people with any part of Asia.' In eighteen years have been brought about the changes of a century. Over 600,000 children are in American public schools, in which the English language is used. More Filipinos are speaking English today than ever spoke Spanish at any one time, notwithstanding the fact that Spain was there three hundred and forty years, while the United States has been there only twenty years.

After eleven years of American control the trade of the islands was three times as large as the highest figures under Spain. Improved agricultural methods, good roads, and railroads, are vastly increasing material prosperity. Smallpox, formerly an annual scourge, has been completely wiped out. Cholera has virtually disappeared. The death rate in Manila has been cut down fifty per cent since American occupation."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 148, 149.

Missions as Constructive Statesmanship

"In a day, and against the background, of disorder and destruction, we see Christian missions as a great, peaceable, and constructive agency of equalization, transformation, and freedom. The American people believe that the war in which they have become involved is a righteous and necessary war. . . . But its influence can only be structural and not organic. It is surgery cutting away diseased and vicious tissues. . . .

New ideals, new motives, a new spirit, and a new and living power are needed to change the world; not a reconstitution of political relationships, but a regeneration of the soul of humanity. Mr. Morgenthau discerned this and spoke of it in his tribute to the missionaries in Turkey on his return from this two years' service as American Ambassador in Constantinople. 'A residence of over two years in Turkey has given me the best possible opportunity to see the work of the American missionaries and to know the workers intimately. Without hesitation I declare my high opinion of their keen insight into the real needs of the people of Turkey. The missionaries have the right idea. They go straight to the foundations and provide those intellectual, physical, moral, and religious benefits upon which alone any true civilization can be built.' How deeply this influence has penetrated into the world's life no one can adequately tell. In the years gone by, those most competent to judge have declared it to be the most powerful and penetrating of all influences. . . .

'I confess,' said Sir James Meston, the Lieutenant Governor of the United Provinces, at the opening of some new buildings of the Department of Agriculture in the Ewing Christian College at Allahabad, India, 'that after I have been here and spent an hour on the farm, I always go away seeing visions. I see a vision of a very different India from what we have now—of an India in which the whole countryside has been metamorphosed by agricultural skill and science; in which its rustic people are comfortable, in which the land is immune from the ravages of famine, in which the ground is producing three, four,

five, six times what it produces now; and as a correlative to that I see a vision of the great towns, busy with the hum of looms and a purr of electric machinery, which I hope means smokeless chimneys, turning out the comforts and luxuries which a prosperous countryside will require. It is a vision of the future of a great and prosperous country, striding forward to higher things.' . . .

The following is the statement made by Sir W. Mackworth Young, K.C.S.I., Lieutenant-Governor of the Punjab, upon his return to England:

'As a business man speaking to business men, I am prepared to say that the work which has been done by missionary agency in India exceeds in importance all that has been done (and much has been done) by the British Government in India since its commencement. Let me take the Province which I know best. I ask myself what has been the most potent influence which has been working among the people since annexation fifty-four years ago, and to that question I feel there is but one answer—Christianity, as set forth in the lives and teaching of Christian missionaries. I do not underestimate the forces which have been brought to bear on the races in the Punjab by our beneficent rule, by British justice and enlightenment; but I am convinced that the effect on native character produced by the self-denying labors of missionaries is far greater.'

The influence that has wrought thus in India is changing the moral ideals of one-half of humanity. In a recent article in a Japanese magazine the writer pointed out the transformation that had taken place in the meaning of Japanese words in the last twenty-five years, beginning with the Japanese word for God, into which the influence of Christianity had poured an absolutely new meaning. What subtler influence can work upon a nation than this? And it is working not only through the resistless evangelization of a changed national speech, but it is striking home ever more and more to the individual heart. . . .

The one great lesson of the year which is to be carried up into the coming day is the lesson that now, not less but more, must all those forces be intensified and flung forth which can build creatively the new order which must come upon the earth. If, as we believe, we have entered the great conflict to check wrong, to make the world a safe place for freedom, to forward the cause of brotherhood and equality, to secure justice for the weak and to establish the law that strength is given for service, then, the forces which were best fitted to produce these results before the war, and on which alone we can rely to produce them afterwards, must not be abated or diminished now. Every worthy end that the nation believes that it has in

view now in the war is an end for which the Christian spirit has wrought and must still work. No matter what sacrifice must be made, the missionary enterprise must not be sacrificed. Even though its maintenance during the coming year will cut into the capital of the Christian Church that price must be paid. The men who are giving their lives on the battlefield are not serving the nation out of their income, they are pouring out the last and utmost measure. Christ has a right to ask, in the service which alone can establish righteousness upon the earth, that his people shall give him not a fraction of their income only, nor all of their income alone, but that they shall lay down at his feet their very last and all. This is the word of the old year to the new, of the new year to the old."—Robert E. Speer, "Looking Through the War Clouds," *The Missionary Review of the World*, January, 1918, pp. 11, 12; 14; 12, 13; 14, 15.

The Testimony of Oriental Statesmen

"Far from being destructive, Christianity is constructive. It elevates individual character, it purifies the family, it strengthens the state, it rightens society. Christianity is charged with undermining the family and blighting the state. On the contrary I assert that it upbuilds the family, removes the cancer from society, and lifts the people and state to a pitch of greatness otherwise unattainable. As a patriot I not only believe in Christianity for myself, but I pray above all things that my fellow-countrymen may follow Christ."—Statement of Count Okuma quoted in *The International Review of Missions*, Vol. 6, p. 317.

"It would be amiss if I failed to mention the enormous benefit Christianity is contributing to Japan in the line of women's education and philanthropic works, which would never have attained their present magnitude and development but for the guiding hand of foreign missionaries."—Hon. T. Tanaka, Japanese Charge d' Affaires, Washington.

"Although Christianity has enrolled less than 200,000 believers, yet the indirect influence of Christianity has poured into every realm of Japanese life. It has been borne to us on all the currents of European civilization; most of all, the English language and literature, so surcharged with Christian ideas, have exerted a wide and deep influence over Japanese thought.

Concerning the future it is my own conviction that no practical solution of many pressing problems is in sight apart from Christianity."—Testimony of Count Okuma, *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 39, p. 825.

“In the first place, China owes a great deal to the foreign missionaries for the introduction of modern education. Not only through their translation of books of modern science, but also through their personal efforts in teaching modern science and arts and in establishing modern schools and colleges, missionaries, particularly those from this country, have awakened an interest on the part of the Chinese masses in the importance and value of modern education. The present widespread educational movement in China is traceable in its origin to a very large extent to the humble efforts begun half a century ago by pioneer missionaries of the Christian Church in China. The efficiency of missionary institutions in training men of discipline and character is a fact generally admitted. Indeed, many of the missionary schools and colleges are recognized as among the best of our educational institutions.

In the second place, the missionary, as a doctor, has rendered no less service to China than as an educator. The missionary hospitals and dispensaries numbering, I am informed, nearly four hundred, are not only places of comfort to the sick and suffering, but also serve as centers from which the light of modern medical science radiates to the length and breadth of China.

Then the missionary as a moral and religious teacher and as a social reformer has been a distinct force in China. Perhaps no one can tell how many miserable lives have been made happy and how many living in darkness have been brought to see the light by missionary teaching. Many of the epoch-making reforms, such as the suppression of opium and abolition of foot-binding, have been brought about with no little support from the workers of the Christian Church in China.

I hold missionary work in high regard, as do so many of my fellow countrymen. The Christian Church has not only rendered valuable service in propagating Christian doctrines, but has by her various activities contributed to the modernization of China, and under the new regime of republicanism, Christianity is bound to make even more rapid progress and accomplish much more in China than she has in the past.”—His Excellency, Dr. V. K. Wellington Koo, Chinese Minister to the United States, *Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 39, p. 763.

Training the Far Places for Democracy

“Everywhere Christianity has brought education to the masses. A leading Hindu nationalist in India says: ‘After all, when it comes to practice, Christianity alone is effecting what we nationalists are crying for, namely, the elevation of the masses.’ In the social records of mankind the greatest attempt

of privileged people to carry to deficient races the means and methods of training for life efficiency is the educational work of Christian missions. They have carried to illiterate tribes and nations a complete educational system from public school to university. They have given the emancipation of modern sciences to races held in the bond of an artificial pedantic system. They have released woman from her ancient bondage and ignorance. They have provided undeveloped groups with the best training for the needs and pursuits of life that the world knows. They have taught domestic science and medicine, industry and agriculture. From India, a Princeton graduate reports that his Indian neighbors grow six or eight bushels of wheat per acre, while with the proper methods of cultivation and seed introduced by the missionaries, twenty-five to thirty bushels are raised under the same conditions.

The results are social transformations on such a scale as the world has never seen in so short a period. The sons of coolies who did the work of the animals, and those of pariahs, who lived in cowering subjection, have become scholars and educators. The daughters of women who were drudges or playthings have become competent physicians. Age-long social fetters have been broken; time-worn prisons for the mind have been opened; and great masses of the earth's population are now coming with vision and power to take their part in the future development of mankind.

Unbiased recognition of this result is the fact that the English government has subsidized mission schools in India, and education in China and Japan has now been extended under government direction far beyond the mission schools. These schools have furnished native governments with many of their most enlightened and effective leaders in commerce, education, and statesmanship. More than twenty of the well-known journals of Japan are edited by men who graduated from Christian schools. The contribution of Christian education to the growing democracy of the Near East and the Far East is immeasurable. What forces made the new China? Who are the leaders in movements for democracy in other of the non-Christian nations?

Here is proof of the help Christianity is giving the world in its search for democracy. When this world movement of Christian education is carried to its inevitable conclusion, when the fullest equipment for life that the science of education provides is given to all the handicapped groups of this country and Europe and to all the undeveloped peoples of the earth, what kind of a world will there be? The educational achievement of Christian missions is a world fact and force, only because some pioneer spirits of the last generation went from the

colleges to endure loneliness and encounter danger. Have the college men and women of this generation the spirit to complete their work?"—Ward-Edwards, "Christianizing Community Life," pp. 58, 59.

"The splendid educational institutions of the Near East, the beneficent hospitals and dispensaries, the active printing presses, have been conspicuously successful; and through them and the more ordinary evangelistic agencies, individuals by the thousand, Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Syrians, Copts and even some Turks, have been brought to Christ as their personal Saviour. But the leavening of the Levant has been much more general and beneficial than can be expressed in tangible results or statistical returns. *The hope of the East in the present crisis lies in the enlightenment and elevation of the Christian populations.*"—Joseph K. Greene, D.D., "Leavening the Levant," *International Review of Missions*, Vol. 6, p. 471.

"The remarkable work done at Robert College whose superb site on the Bosphorus near Constantinople is even more commanding than that of Cornell or the University of Wisconsin, caught the attention of the whole world when, in the recent Balkan War, it was found that the ideals of freedom possessing the Balkan States were largely acquired through the education of the leaders in this Christian college of Turkey. On a site not far from Robert College are now rising the fine new buildings of the American College for Girls."—W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," p. 119.

The New Era for Women in Asia

The emancipation of women in the Orient is progressing rapidly. From being the slave or the plaything of man, kept in seclusion and in ignorance in many lands, woman is throwing aside the veil, is coming out of the zenana, is entering school and college, and is taking her part in civic life. The Christian missionaries are directly responsible for this awakening. They first inspired and directed it. Today there are colleges, as well as schools, for women in India, in China, and now in Japan. These are being mothered by the Christian women in America and are destined to play a large part in the development of Asia."—*The Missionary Review of the World*, Sept., 1918.

Fighting Disease

"In one hospital in China, founded and maintained by American university men, twenty-five thousand out-patients were treated in a single year. This is but one of seven hundred mission hospitals in various lands. The missionaries have car-

ried modern medicine and surgery to Japan, Korea, China, Siam, India, Persia, Turkey, and Africa. Christianity thus inspires the care of the sick through countless institutions and personal services. . . .

In many lands medical missionaries have pioneered in stamping out plagues and epidemics. Smallpox went unchecked until they introduced vaccination into Siam. Christian doctors were leaders in the fight against the terrible pneumonic plague in North China."—Ward-Edwards, "Christianizing Community Life," pp. 70-72.

Giving a Written Language and the Printed Page

"The Bible, or a large part of it, has been translated into about five hundred distinct languages and dialects, and nearly one-half these languages had first to be reduced to writing. It is easy to record such a fact, but who can measure the appalling toil involved or the enormous human uplift resulting? These five hundred languages vary all of the way from ancient Sanskrit to the modern Zulu.

Today one hundred and sixty presses are conducted by the Protestant mission boards in various parts of the world, and they issue annually about four hundred million pages of Christian literature and the Word of God."—W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," pp. 104, 105; 114, 115.

Native Kingdoms Transformed

"From the very outset the young chief (Khama, the Christian Chief of the Bechuana) declared his intention of ruling his people according to Christian principles, and it may be doubted whether any native potentate in South Africa has endeavored as faithfully to carry out his original intention, or has succeeded so signally. In spite of the opposition of the old heathen element, he was successful in gradually putting down objectionable customs, such as witchcraft, circumcision, wife purchase (*bogado*), and slavery; in stopping the introduction of brandy into his territories; and in building up a stable kingdom upon the ruins of the old lawless and disordered state. He was likewise successful in preventing, through strong representation and a personal visit to England, the absorption of his territory by the chartered company. Khama remains today the most eminent example in South Africa of a Christianized native chief."—J. du Plessis, quoted by Jean Mackenzie, in "An African Trail," p. 203.

Skilled Workmen in the New World

"One of the first tasks of Mackay of Uganda, who went out

to Africa in 1876, was the building of two hundred and thirty miles of road to open up a new territory. Fortunate indeed was it for him that at the University of Edinburgh he had studied mathematics, surveying, mechanics, drafting, and the principles of fortification. He could build a house, or a boat, or a bridge, or a canal with equal facility, and all who felt the touch of his remarkable life, from the cruel and infamous King Mtesa to the humblest slave, felt a new motive and joy in working with hand and brain at once. . . .

So this ingenious and daring spirit carried into Africa as part of his missionary outfit, steam-pipes, cylinders, piston-rods, crank-shafts, pumps and forges, screws and rivets. With his own hands he calked the seams of his boat, worked at his lathe, made candles of ox-fat, built a steam-engine, fitted up a pit-saw to make planks, and created the essentials of a decent life in Uganda. He made his own apparatus for determining altitudes by the temperature of boiling water. He set up a grindstone and operated a forge while teaching King Mtesa to observe the Sabbath and expounding to him the Nicene creed. In fourteen wonderful years he saw Uganda made a Christian province. The Uganda Railroad, nearly six hundred miles long, was Mackay's suggestion, as it is one of his monuments."

Faunce says that Mackay's work in Uganda compressed into twenty years what in most countries requires two hundred.—W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," pp. 159, 160.

"This . . . cannot be ignored as a method to be used by Christian missions among the peasants in Turkey, the *fellaheen* in Egypt, the *panchamas* (outcastes) of India, the savages of Africa, or the islanders of the South Pacific. . . . The moment we grapple with the needs of the tropics we are facing a universal indisposition to labor. Why should the swarthy child of the tropics stoop to toil, when nature has provided for all his material necessities? . . . Hence the missionary has before him the problem of building up character among people who love idleness, and building a self-supporting church among a people who have never learned to save or to give. . . . We absolutely must get away from agricultural methods dating back to the days of Abraham. The times demand it. Few things will better stimulate the dormant faculties, the intellectual life of the masses. . . . Some American Christians would open their eyes in amazement—and perhaps in doubt—if they could read 'Bulletin No. I,' issued by this missionary college (at Allahabad) in 1913, entitled: 'The Silo and Silage: A Method of Protecting India's Cattle from Starvation.' Our theological seminaries hardly equip a missionary for building and managing a silo. . . .

Already has famine been banished from among the Kaffirs by the missionaries' teaching as to irrigation and the control of water-supply. The Basel Mission on the Gold Coast now numbers 35,000 communicants. Wagons and carts made in its workshops are now seen in all parts of Sierra Leone and the Kameruns. In its last annual report we find that its export of rubber amounted to thirty-five tons; of palm-oil, 2,700,000 quarts; of cocoa, 17,000,000 pounds; while in its savings-bank were deposited by native Christians 757,000 francs.

Such results followed that Henry M. Stanley spoke of the story as 'an epic poem,' and called Uganda the 'Japan of Africa.' 'It is the practical Christian tutor,' said Stanley, 'who can teach people to become Christians, can cure their diseases, construct dwellings, understand and exemplify agriculture, turn his hand to anything, like a sailor, that is wanted. Such a one, if he can be found, would be a savior of Africa.' How Africa found such a man in Stewart of Lovedale we shall see in another chapter."—W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions," pp. 142, 144, 155, 158, 159, 160.

"The missionary sees on every side the moral effects of nakedness, the misery resulting from poor food poorly cooked, and the impossibility of living a clean, victorious, Christian life in a dark mud hut on the ground. Whether consciously or not, he reacts against the heathen environment and begins to develop higher standards of living and create new wants. From the native side the race trait of emulation begins to operate, and everything the missionary has and does stimulates new desires within the black man. The natives soon feel an ambition for better homes, better clothing, and better food, all leading to the desire for a productive occupation. The missionary is therefore under obligation to put within the reach of his people the ambitions and wants which he himself has developed within them, and the only logical way is to teach them how to earn or to make these things for themselves.

No more effective ally to the spirit of Christ can be found to break down the self-centered, suspicious social system of heathenism than industrial education. Not only does it raise the standard of living and lessen the strain of poverty and unjust taxation, but it leads at once to a Christian cooperation. Heathenism is essentially selfish. The native raises his own food in his own little garden, builds his own hut, and is largely dependent upon his own resources. He sees no reason for helping anybody else. Specialized industry changes all this. The carpenter works for the mason and they both buy their grain from the farmer. There is a hitherto-unheard-of pride in work and a healthy competition in the things which make for thrift. The natural resources are utilized for the common good, and

a spirit of neighborliness and mutual interdependence springs up which is a necessary prerequisite for social reform."—*The Christian Occupation of Africa*," pp. 90-91.

A Mass Movement Upward among India's Outcastes

"It is no exaggeration to say that the present mass movement toward Christianity now going on among the lowest classes in India, a movement as a body in groups, villages, and castes, is the greatest since the Christian Church was founded. It is the dominating fact in the missionary situation in India. It is a movement of great waves. The Methodist Episcopal Church alone baptized 40,000 in 1915, and is at present baptizing 2,000 a week. Last year 150,000 were refused baptism for lack of Christian teachers. Back of them are 6,000,000 calling for instruction and baptism and back of them 50,000,000 available to Christianity. . . .

These outcastes are so low in the scale of life that they have to 'reach up to touch bottom.' They are depressed classes outside the pale of Hinduism, sunk in abject ignorance and squalor. It is common for them to live on one meal of grain a day, and a frugal meal at that. The daily wage of the members of the Methodist Church who have come in through the mass movement averages three cents. . . . In addition to this poverty the outcastes labor under a pitiless social oppression. Hindu society regards them as so unclean that even their shadow pollutes. . . .

Throughout all missionary endeavor in India caste has been an almost insuperable obstacle. But the astonishing thing disclosed by the mass movement is that while the great social network of caste has been powerful to hold men down together, it is also powerful to lift them up together. . . .

To win individuals out of a caste, in the face of the terrible economic and social persecution which awaits them, has been exceedingly hard and slow work. But when a whole village or a large part of a caste gets a vision of the religious and social advantages which Christianity offers and becomes Christian in a solid group, it can change the social customs under which it lives to a large extent. This, in brief, is what is happening among the outcastes of India and is the underlying explanation of the mass movement, in distinction from the older form of missionary success in winning individuals by twos and threes or by families. . . .

The mass movement is a social as well as a religious movement. It is not to be denied that millions are turning to Christianity for freedom from social and economic bondage as well as for spiritual light. It is one of the greatest democratic movements in history. Does that social character of the move-

ment discount it as a Christian evangelistic success? If anyone thinks so, let him read his New Testament over again. It is the response of the oppressed and downtrodden to Christ, the great Democrat, who came 'to preach good tidings to the poor, to proclaim release to the captives and recovering of sight to the blind, to set at liberty them that are bruised.' In the work of Christian missions among the depressed classes of India there is a striking demonstration of the social value of the teaching of Christ. The Christian community which has come from the outcastes has shown great material, intellectual, and moral progress. The whole standard of life has been raised; degrading habits and practices have been abandoned; a new idea of the worth of human life has followed the Christian teaching of the value of every human soul."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 99, 101, 102, 103,

The Dynamic for Progress

The Christian program is the same as it has ever been since Christ sent out that first group of disciples into Galilee, preaching, teaching, and healing. It is lifting the world's life by those three levers. It preaches the gospel of the love of God, the redemptive power of God, and the kingdom of God as an order of righteousness, brotherhood, and service. In every environment that message has proved a germinating force of righteousness and social progress. In its schools of every kind which belt the earth—primary, secondary, and colleges, industrial and medical schools—it has plowed up the earth for the growth of self-realization and self-government. In its hospitals and social healing of every kind it has set moving forces of vast social transformation.

The mainspring of human progress has been for nineteen hundred years, and is today, the Christian faith. 'The moral dynamic that transformed our wild forefathers, the Saxons, Celts, and Scandinavian, into civilized nations was not science, then unborn; not politics, literature or art; it was Christianity.' And the power that has in the last one hundred years aroused Asia and Africa and the islands of the Pacific from the sleep of centuries is not commercial or governmental but Christian. The credentials of the gospel of Christ for a world-task are well urged in the words of President Wilson: 'The Gospel of Christ is the only force in the world that I have ever heard of that does actively transform the life; and the proof of the transformation is to be found all over the world, and is multiplied and repeated as Christianity gains fresh territory in the heathen world.'"—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 29-30.

CHAPTER XII

Forces Helping Internationalism

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. WHAT ARE THE CHIEF HINDRANCES TO INTERNATIONALISM?

1. *What place have national, territorial, political, and trade ambitions played in causing international friction and rivalry?*

2. *What is the purpose of secret treaties and alliances, and of a spy system? How have they increased suspicion?*

3. *Why do the East and the West tend to misunderstand each other?*

4. *How does lack of contact between nations cause suspicion and misunderstanding? What are the chief causes of such a lack of contact?*

5. *In what ways have traders and other representatives misrepresented the attitude of Europe and America toward the Orient and Africa? With what effect?*

6. *Why has America enacted the Chinese exclusion law? Why did California make discriminating legislation against the Japanese? Just how does this make difficult a basis of frank relationship between nations?*

7. *How much have those who returned to Russia and China brought strained relations by their representation of conditions in America, and of their treatment here?*

8. *What relation has the development of national churches and a national consciousness in religion, to national political ambitions and international rivalries? How much can a*

state church such as exists in Germany and Great Britain and as is being formed in Japan, be depended upon to protest against unrighteous government and politics? Why, or why not?

II. WHAT ARE THE HELPFUL CONTACTS OF THE EAST AND THE WEST?

1. *Why have government missions come from China and Japan to the West? What are the principal missions that have come? How have these missions been received in the West? How have they helped the relation of the East and the West?*

2. *What are the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. doing to help foreign students who come to America? Just what is the significance of the entertainment of hundreds of foreign students in American Christian homes at holiday periods? Their attendance at summer conferences with American students?*

3. *What were the chief international societies before the war? How do these compare in number with the international societies ten years ago? How many nations were included in the World's Student Christian Federation before the war? What is the significance of this world federation of students? What is the significance of a gathering such as the Lake Mohonk conference of this Federation, with representatives from forty nations? How was this organization able to stand the strain of war for three years without breaking? What hope does it bring for the formation of a new world after the war?*

4. *What is the influence of missionary work on internationalism?*

a. *What proportion of the knowledge of Western nations in the remote places is secured through the missionary? What impression would the native receive of the Western nation, from the missionary and his work?*

b. How significant is the responsibility being taken by native peoples in the leadership of Western churches as they are founded in Eastern lands? In the leadership of the Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. in foreign countries?

c. How much will it affect internationalism, that Chinese, Japanese, and Indians have worked with Americans and British on common Christian enterprises?

d. What significance does it have for the growth of internationalism when great churches and organizations like the Y. M. C. A. cover work in many nations both East and West, and have world conferences and conventions bringing these representatives together? What are the arguments for such international religious consciousness, and what are the arguments for strong national churches and religious consciousness?

III. HOW FAR DOES INTERNATIONALISM MAKE NATIONALISM IMPRACTICABLE?

1. *Why are nationalism and internationalism coming into contest?*

2. *What evidence is there of a plea for America to return to isolation, and the development of a strong nationalism which can compete in the modern world?*

3. *What effect has internationalism on nationalism?*

4. *Just how much national consciousness is possible in the world, organized on the international basis? When is nationalism not inconsistent with internationalism?*

READING REFERENCES

J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," Chapter II, The Call for Christian Internationalism.

This discusses commerce, industry, the press, tourists, and Christian missions in their relation to internationalism.

W. H. P. Faunce, "The New Horizon of State and Church."
H. E. Fosdick, "The Challenge of the Present Crisis."

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

"The lanes of communication have steadily been growing wider and more numerous between the Christian and the non-Christian peoples of the earth. These paths of communication include political conquest and colonization, commerce and trade, diplomacy and treaties, international laws and agreements, exploration and adventure, world travel, industry, science and education, telegraph, cable and mail service, the periodical press and other literature, deputations and commissions, student migrations and a host of others. . . .

We should give thoughtful, concentrated attention to the Christianizing of all our relationships with other peoples, so that the great international arteries of tomorrow will be not so much a network of cables or a complexity of treaties or a developed system of commercial interchange, but pulsating lines of human interest and sympathy and service, in the spirit of Jesus Christ."—J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," pp. 40, 41.

Foreign Students in America

"Approximately two hundred girls from Oriental countries are students in schools and colleges in the United States today. About half of them are from China, more than a quarter from Japan, and the others are mainly from India, Korea, and the countries of the Near East.

These young women from Oriental lands are preparing for almost every line of work which women in any country have ever entered. Not a few of them are looking forward to using their education in and through the homes which they are planning to make some day soon.

But whatever may be the background from which these girls have come and to whatever kind of work they may be returning, certain it is that every one of them will be a leader of unusual influence among the women of her country because of the very exceptional opportunities which have been given her. The Young Women's Christian Association has, therefore, felt that everything that could be done to help these girls to see and know the best rather than the worst of Occidental civilization during their stay in this country would touch not only their own lives but the great host of their countrywomen, whom they will so strongly influence for good or ill in years to come."

—Margaret E. Burton, *International Review of Missions*, Vol. 6, p. 424.

International Good Will

"In the colleges and at summer conferences students representing different races and nationalities are brought together on terms of social equality and cordiality; on the athletic field and in study groups foreign students are mingling freely with one another and with North American students. Such contacts are doing much to promote international good will and to give a vision of true brotherhood. . . .

True friendship among nations, as between individuals, is the result of sympathy, frankness, and patience; misunderstandings are corrected and prejudices are frequently overcome by face-to-face contact on the part of those concerned. There has certainly never been a time in the history of the United States when the people of North America had such a unique opportunity for making friends of the future leaders of all nations as is now afforded by the presence among us of thousands of the future educated leaders from abroad, representing forty different nations. . . .

This number of foreign students is rapidly increasing, because war conditions prevent them from enrolling in European universities; moreover, a considerable number of students from Europe will come to us after the war. Probably not less than ten thousand students from abroad will be enrolled in our institutions within three or four years.

What impression shall these students receive of our 'Christian' civilization?"—*The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 39, pp. 356, 359.

"The missionary movement is the one great work that clearly rests upon the conception of the brotherhood of all men of whatever land or clime. It is, in fact, the most far-reaching international agency in the world today—the most potent way of manifesting good will and of giving of our best to all. It is the best expression of world-brotherhood that has yet been seen. To curtail it in any way would be actually to retard that very internationalism for which we are now fighting—would be to give the lie in Asia and Africa to what we are giving our lives for in Europe."—Samuel McCrea Covert, "The Missionary Enterprise as the Moral Equivalent of War," *Biblical World*, Dec., 1917, p. 352.

International Cooperation

"There are now over thirty international agreements among modern nations, all of recent growth. These all have estab-

lished international unions, to care for postage, telegraphs, navigation, prisons, insurance, opium, submarine cables, the white slave traffic, and other international interests. One of the latest and more valuable is the Pan-American Scientific Union. In all of these cases we have attained united governmental action of a positive character, in the promotion of world-welfare, and the limitation of sovereignty has been self-imposed on each cooperating nation. These are a few of the exigent tasks of civilization, which no nation could perform alone. They are constructive efforts at the creation of a fairer, finer world. These things have been accomplished, not through intricate discussions of the relation of states, but through the perception that a definite piece of work needs to be done and that no single sovereign isolated state can do it. These cooperative agreements were born, not out of fear of some future collision, but out of the clear discernment of a present need. . . . But the really inspiring work of civilization—the moral equivalent of war—is largely a work yet to be attempted. There are Suez canals and Panama canals yet to be built. If tuberculosis is to be wiped out by applied science, the scourge must be attacked in New England, in France, in China, in India—only as an international enterprise can it succeed. If the Desert of Sahara and the desolated valleys of the Euphrates and the Tigris are to be recovered for human homes, the work should be done by international agreement and cooperation. If a railroad is to be built from New York through to Valparaiso it must be perforce under international control. Such control may be the only solution of the future of Constantinople. Such control of the most important straits and narrow channels of the ocean will be undertaken as soon as we realize how some small states are today ‘bottled up’ and fairly suffocated.”—W. H. P. Faunce, “The New Horizon of State and Church,” pp. 91, 92.

The International Mind

“Behind and around all forms of organization which our statesmen may devise for international cooperation, there must be developed in all the people the international mind. Once men of clannish tradition found it hard to think in tribal terms; then men of tribal mold strained their minds to national dimensions; and now we with our national sectarianisms find it difficult to think ourselves citizens of the world. No scheme of universal policy that statecraft can devise will work until the people are internationalists in their thoughts. And Christianity is challenged by its Master to give to men that horizon to their loyalties, that Fatherland for their sacrifice. If this seems a platitude, it is one of those platitudes whose most obvious

applications have not yet been even dimly seen by multitudes of Christians. In 1860 a man in Maryland said, 'I am firstly a citizen of Harford County; secondly a citizen of Maryland; thirdly a citizen of the United States.' How amazingly provincial such words sound a generation after! One wonders if this man was a member of a Christian church, a believer in the Christian creed, a prayer to the Christian God. And then he sees how many churchmen still are like him—no disciples of Jesus in any deep, intelligent sense. For the Christian's citizenship must always begin at the other end from Harford County; he is firstly a citizen of the Kingdom of God on earth, a patriot for mankind. A Christianity that is not international has never known its Master."—Harry Emerson Fosdick, "The Challenge of the Present Crisis," pp. 75, 76.

Constructive Internationalism

"What now is our surest reliance in America against any unresolvable misunderstanding with China? It lies in the \$10,000,000 which out of sheer good will our government returned to China when the Boxer indemnity was paid. Hundreds of Chinese students supported by the interest of that fund are studying in America now, and in every intelligent Chinese mind there is a settled predisposition to trust America. . . .

So few times in history has any nation done what America did for China, and so overwhelming is the response to such simple friendliness that the nations cannot permanently be blind to the good sense, as well as the ethical nobility of such a course. The extreme pacifists insist that there is no situation which kindness cannot handle. They are wrong if they mean that kindness can begin at any time, appealing to the Prussians, for example, after the assault on Belgium has been started. But they are right if they mean that kindness begun soon enough and practiced long enough in the end will prove omnipotent. We yet shall learn that the best armament of any people is the friendship of the world, won by constructive good will.

The application of this truth to the churches' missionary program is manifest. The cause of missions has too often been presented in its significance for individuals alone; it has been pictured only as the snatching of souls one by one from ruin. But this crisis in the world's life challenges us to balance our view to missions with a more social concept of their meaning. *The missionary enterprise is the Christian campaign for international good will.* We must see that it is so and must handle it as though it were so. What the nations, through their governments, will slowly learn to do, loath to leave old

precedents, bound by the sectarian narrowness of national loyalties, Christians must do now, and do with a lavish generosity that they have not practiced hitherto.

We are told that some day we shall have war with Mexico. How much our own fault it will be if such a lamentable conflict comes! What Mexico needs is an invasion of school teachers and social workers and Christian preachers, who have caught the idea of missions in their international relationships; and if such an invasion is not forthcoming, a military invasion may indeed be necessary. One suspects in many a case like this that we have our choice. We are continually reminded of clashing interests that some day will embroil us with Japan. Even the present war could hardly be a more grievous catastrophe than that. And short of some league of nations which may offer means of mediation and settlement not today existent the surest hope of avoiding conflict, of forestalling war by friendship, is an energetic campaign of good will now. If the Christians of America do not want war with Japan, they need not have it. Japan is not mad enough to want war with America. Only we must begin now, under the leadership of Christian missionaries and statesmen like Dr. John R. Mott and Dr. Sidney Gulick, a determined movement within our country against our needlessly insulting legislation, when Orientals are concerned, and we must organize such expressions of good will through our missionary agencies that, if possible, we may create a predisposition in the Japanese people to believe the best of us and not the worst. The missionary enterprise at its very heart is the impulse to share our finest, and if the finest in America and the finest in Japan were thoroughly known to each other, the chances of collision would be minimized to vanishing. Such a ministry of mutual interpretation and reconciliation is committed to the churches. The present war is an appalling commentary upon our failure to fulfill or even to acknowledge our obligations. We have seen our duty in too little terms; we have but dimly understood what the Master wanted of us. We are challenged to understand it now; the call is written in lines of fire on the map of the world; and we shall be renegade, indeed, if we do not now accept before it is too late the opportunity for international service which this war reveals."—Harry Emerson Fosdick, "The Challenge of the Present Crisis," pp. 92-97.

CHAPTER XIII

America's Opportunity and Response

SUGGESTIONS FOR THOUGHT AND DISCUSSION

I. HOW HAS THE UNITED STATES RESPONDED TO HER RESPONSIBILITY IN THE WAR OF THE NATIONS?

1. *Compare the willingness of Americans to subordinate personal interest to the common good, now and in pre-war times. How do the gifts for war enterprises compare with gifts for philanthropic causes in peace times?*

2. *Why has an individualistic, isolated nation been willing to throw itself so unreservedly back of the present cause?*

3. *Just how fully does the past record of the United States enable her with consistency to champion smaller nations and the cause of democracy? In answering this question, appraise the following from this viewpoint: the Venezuelan question; the Hay diplomacy standing for Chinese integrity and the "Open Door"; the return of the Chinese indemnity; the American record in Cuba, the Philippines, Nicaragua, and Panama; America's attitude toward Mexico.*

4. *What is the significance of America's insistence upon a clean army?*

a. *Why has immorality been taken for granted in connection with former wars?*

b. *What relation to the morality of the troops has the work of the Y. M. C. A. and such organizations? What is the relation of this to the morale of the troops?*

c. *What is the significance in relation to the build-*

ing of a democracy of this attempt to keep every soldier at his best?

5. *Just how much opportunity has the United States Government already had to forward the cause of democracy in the world? Will she be true to her opportunity?*

II. WHAT IS THE PRESENT OPPORTUNITY OF THE CHURCH IN BUILDING A NEW WORLD?

1. *How can the Church best help in winning the war? In the elimination of unchristian conditions and the building of a Christian world?*

2. *What relation has the world-wide work of the Church to the winning of the war? Concretely, in what regards are the aims of the war and the aims of the world missionary movement the same?*

3. *Compare the mobilization for war, and for the world expansion of Christianity. Note the mobilization of intelligence, leadership, material resources, and man-power.*

4. *What should be the attitude of American Christians to the missionary movement in war time?*

a. What are the considerations which would lead to a retrenchment?

b. What are the comparative opportunities for the world-wide expansion of Christianity now and before the war?

(1) How deeply have the countries in Asia, Africa, and South America been affected by the war? Why have remote nations been so much more deeply affected by this than by previous wars?

(2) What effect is the presence of Indian troops on the fields of Flanders having upon customs in India? Of Chinese laborers from China upon China? How is the training of African natives in the allied armies af-

fecting African life? In what ways do these international contacts help, and in what ways hinder missionary work?

- (3) Why have the Armenian Christians refused to deny Christianity temporarily to save their lives? What effect is this likely to have in Turkey?
- (4) In what ways has the war brought a larger opportunity for Christian work in these continents?
- (5) Remembering all the difficulties in the missionary work caused by the war, how does the opportunity now compare with that of the period before the war? How far shall we have lost our chance to meet the present opportunity if we wait until the war is over?

c. What are the conditions which will lead to an expansion of missionary work in war time?

- (1) How far have war times in the past been characterized by missionary expansion? How do you account for this?
- (2) What churches have chosen this time for a great missionary forward movement? What relation has the success of these plans for missionary expansion to the achievement of America's war aims?

III. JUST HOW MUCH OF AN APPEAL TO HEROIC ACTION DOES THE BUILDING OF A NEW WORLD BRING?

1. *Why has not the building of a Christian world called for greater heroism in the past? Suppose Christians set themselves in earnest at the task of changing conditions that are wrong in the world, how much sacrifice and heroism would be required?*

2. Just where are the chances for the most sacrificial service today in building a new world?

a. Why is service in the war given primacy by those who wish to build a Christian world?

b. Why does it cost so little to be a Christian in business and industrial life? Suppose a man dared to follow Jesus' principles as set forth in Chapter IV, just what would it cost him?

c. How strongly intrenched are the forces of selfishness desiring child labor, exploitation of the workers, etc., for the sake of profit? How much fighting will it take to overcome these wrongs?

d. Just how are the churches best to help men and women in all lines of work to do their part in building a new world?

e. What is the comparative opportunity to help in the building of a new world in America, Europe, Asia, Africa, and South America? In what respect does the world-wide work of Christianity furnish the moral equipment for war?

f. How would you change this slogan: "Whatever the profession, wherever the place, whatever the cost, every Christian giving his whole life to the building of a new world; and competition not for the easy tasks and for present profit, but for the hard places and service for the common good"?

IV. WHAT IS THE GOAL OF CHRISTIANITY? WHAT IS THE GOAL OF DEMOCRACY? HOW DO THEY DIFFER?

READING REFERENCES

J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," Chapter V, The Call for a World Program in the Church; Chapter VI, The Call for a Full Mobilization of Christian Forces. Gives data on the comparative mobilization for war and missions, and

sets forth the present challenge for great expansion in the world program for the Church.

W. H. P. Faunce, "The New Horizon of State and Church."

Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," Chapter I, Making Democracy Safe for the World. The call for a world-wide movement to make democracy safe for the world, and the world safe for democracy.

REFERENCE QUOTATIONS

A Day of Large Things

"It is a day of large things. The leadership of the world is thinking and acting in larger terms than ever before. The scale on which resources are being mobilized in the countries at war, the new standards of thinking in military circles, in scientific realms, in the financial world, all present a tremendous challenge to forsake the old standards forever and to lift the program of the Kingdom into new terms greater and more expansive than those of all other organizations. In our first year of war the United States gave to humanitarian and Christian objects for which great campaigns were conducted, \$330,000,000. In no previous year had there ever been given to corresponding objects more than \$30,000,000. The Red Cross in its first campaign asked for \$100,000,000. It received \$120,000,000. The Y. M. C. A. asked for \$35,000,000 in November, 1917; it received over \$50,000,000. People are accustomed to thinking in large dimensions; old standards of measuring and thinking have been abandoned. In addition to that, while Christian people in the United States are in the war wholeheartedly to see it through to final victory, there is an increasing longing for something constructive rather than merely destructive, that builds rather than batters down."—Taylor-Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy," pp. 94-95.

A Moral Equivalent of War

"With life in normal time safe for the mass of men, with the closing of so many outlets for the adventurous classes, with the world explored and travel made safe, with arms which render wild beasts comparatively harmless, the danger that war will be an attractive excitement, especially to those who will not share its full and worst perils, is not insignificant. There is need of some great, widespread spiritual movement after the war to prevent its return. What would Europe have been

without the Crusades, without the movement initiated by St. Francis, without the general missionary efforts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, without the propaganda for the abolition of slavery—movements in which several generations seemed to be spendthrifts, but in the end enriched the world by inspiring examples of self-sacrifice? Men respond, as this war shows, to appeals to duty and self-sacrifice; and it may be that, with the memory of these three years still fresh in mind, will be born a determination to put down war, such as that which destroyed slavery, and, enthusiasm being evoked by the very difficulties to be encountered, men will declare, 'This must end,' and by a world-wide propaganda in every household, every factory, every trades union meeting, and every church this declaration will be made good."—*The Contemporary Review*, Jan., 1918, pp. 15-16.

"It is no petty province we have to subdue, no parochial victory we see. It is nothing less than the Christianization of all human lives and institutions—a task to challenge the scholarship and statesmanship and deathless devotion of all Christendom. . . . It is the call of humanity itself—East and West, black and white, brown and yellow—all bearing the tarnished image and superscription of God."—W. H. P. Faunce, "The World Vision," *The Missionary Review of the World*, Vol. 39, p. 356.

Missionary Expansion in War Time

"It is an interesting fact that in America the foreign missionary enterprise was born in war-time, and has had some obvious relation to the widening of men's horizon through sacrifice and struggle. . . . In days of bitter struggle for freedom the Church has sent its messengers into the dark places of the earth to open the prison doors and proclaim spiritual release. It was during the American war of 1812 that the American Board was organized and Judson sailed for India. Thus, while the nation was defending its own rights, the Church was asserting certain rights and privileges for those that sit in darkness. The Church did not wait for the success of our Navy, but sent out its missionaries because moved in some measure by the same impulse that sent forth our ships—by a determination to assert human freedom for America and for all the world. . . .

During the American Civil War, and for a decade after, it might be supposed that the foreign missionary societies would languish. On the contrary, that was the very period when new ones were founded. The admirable work of women for American soldiers led them to ask why they could not be effective

in other heroic undertakings. The interdenominational 'Women's Union' for missionary endeavor was organized in 1861. The Women's Boards in the Congregational and the Methodist churches were organized in 1867 and 1868. All the women's missionary organizations were started soon after the close of a war which might be supposed to quench all such effort and force us to stay at home.

The Great War now involving the whole world has indeed broken up some mission stations and rendered some kinds of cooperation impossible for the present. But out of the tumult and carnage, so needless and so awful, is coming already that wider vision, that capacity for world-sympathy and world-sacrifice which is the core of the missionary enterprise. As the missionaries followed our sailors and soldiers into the Philippines, so when this Great War is over there will be such cogency in the missionary appeal as the world has never dreamed of before. Since the year 1914 we have been forced to think in world terms. Strange lands have become familiar, and the map of the world has been really studied for the first time by a hundred million people."—W. H. P. Faunce, "The New Horizon of State and Church," pp. 36-38.

"Obviously, we are not now on a war footing as a body of Christians. We have maintained an ordained Protestant minister at home for every 507 of the population, and have sent abroad a sufficient number of workers, clerical and lay, including the wives of missionaries, to supply one to every fifty or sixty thousand of the non-Christian peoples. We are cared for by doctors to the extent of one for every 647 of our population, and as Protestant Christians have furnished non-Christian lands with one for about every million. Not much evidence in all this of a flaming Crusader spirit in the Church, even though we sing lustily, 'Like a mighty army, moves the Church of God'!"—J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task," p. 166.

A New World

"If the war brings no international reconstruction, no abatement of fear and the armament produced by fear, no release from 'reeking tube and iron shard,' then the last state of the world will be worse than the first, and economic war will alternate with military conflicts through all the future. But now the whole world is plastic, like clay awaiting the hand of the master-potter. Now we must plan for the long future, lest, as we were caught unprepared for war, so we may be caught equally unprepared for peace. Behind the fighters must work the thinkers, for fighting without thinking will never accomplish anything. . . .

And this high task of reconstruction is not for diplomats and statesmen only. Every man who thinks at all must think henceforth in terms of the world-order, and every man who labors at any task must make his daily work a part of the rebuilding of a shattered world."—W. H. P. Faunce, "The New Horizon of State and Church," pp. 21, 22.

REFERENCE BOOKS

Any Standard Encyclopedia.

Look up under the general topic.

Current Magazines.

In addition to the references listed use "The Reader's Guide," in finding other articles in current magazines.

In discussing an outline dealing with current topics of such vital interest concerning which the situation changes day by day, it will be necessary to follow magazines of the week and the month carefully.

Publications of the Committee on Public Information, 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C.

(Any two of the following publications are distributed free. In case a group composed of ten to fifteen persons wanted a single set for reference work of the group, such a set could probably be secured by stating the facts in writing for the same.)

The following pamphlets are the most useful for this work:

I. Red, White, and Blue Series

1. "How the War Came to America." 32 pages.
4. "The President's Flag Day Speech, with Evidence of Germany's Plans." 32 pages.
5. "Conquest and Kultur." Quotations from German writers revealing the plans and purposes of pan-Germany. 160 pages.
6. "German War Practices": Part I—Treatment of Civilians. 91 pages.
8. "German Treatment of Conquered Territory": Part II of "German War Practices." 61 pages.
9. "War, Labor, and Peace": Some Recent Addresses and Writings of the President. American Reply to the Pope; Address to the American Federation of Labor; Messages to Congress of Dec. 4, 1917, Jan. 8, and Feb. 11, 1918. (In press.)

II. War Information Series

101. "The War Message and the Facts Behind It." 32 pages.

103. Charles D. Hazen, "The Government of Germany." 16 pages.

111. G. W. Scott and J. W. Garner, "The German War Code." 16 pages.

In addition to the above, each group ought to have a small reference library available. The following books, which can be ordered from Association Press, are specially suggested.

"War Encyclopedia" published by the Committee on Public Information, 10 Jackson Place, Washington, D. C. Price, .25.

A handbook for ready reference on the great war, 321 pages. Contains information on every sort of topic in connection with the war, topically arranged.

W. E. Weyl, "The End of the War." A discussion of the aims of the war, following particularly what is involved in the adoption of President Wilson's proposals. Price, \$2.00.

Henry M. Brailsford, "A League of Nations." A discussion by a Britisher, who is an authority particularly on the problems in the Near East, on what is involved in carrying out President Wilson's proposals for a league of nations. He discusses the significance of America's part in such a world organization, and the problems of nationality, railroad routes, alliances, sea-power, and trade which must be met in founding such a league. Price, \$1.75.

S. Earl Taylor and Halford E. Luccock, "The Christian Crusade for World Democracy." This is a denominational publication, prepared as a study book for young people and as a part of the Centenary Campaign in the Methodist Episcopal Church. It contains, therefore, considerable denominational material. The major part of the book, however, is given to a survey of the issues affecting democratic institutions and government in the continents of Asia, Africa, and South America. It is recommended as a reference book because it contains the latest and best world survey available written from this viewpoint. Price, paper, .50; cloth, .75.

J. Lovell Murray, "The Call of a World Task." This book contains a survey of the need of the non-Christian world and the increased opportunities which the war has brought. It is a challenge to the Church to take advantage of this opportunity with an adequate mobilization for such constructive work in Asia and Africa as will make sure the aims of the war in those continents. Price, paper, .40; cloth, .60.

Walter Rauschenbusch, "The Social Principles of Jesus." An examination of Jesus' life and teaching from the viewpoint of his social message. It summarizes the social ideals for which

Jesus stood and their application to industrial, political, and other present-day problems. Price, .75.

Edmund Soper, "The Faiths of Mankind." A brief summary of the religions of Asia and Africa, indicating the contribution which each brings to the modern world. This book gives data for facing this question: "Why cannot these religions form the spiritual basis for a world democracy?" Price, .75.

W. H. P. Faunce, "The Social Aspects of Foreign Missions." A survey of the social results of the world wide work of the Church; how this work has affected social and governmental conditions and the possibility of democracy in the far continents. Price, paper, .40; cloth, .60.

W. H. P. Faunce, "The New Horizon of State and Church." The significance both in government and religion of the present world relations of America. Price, .60.

Charles Seymour, "The Diplomatic Background of the War." A discussion of European diplomacy from the time of Bismarck until the great war. This book makes intelligible from the historical viewpoint the present issues. Price, \$2.00.

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J. P. Bang, "Hurrah and Hallelujah." The teaching of Germany's poets, prophets, professors, and preachers. Price, \$1.00.

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